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NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

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Conference on 'Brain Drain' Begins in Moscow

Main Speaker 'Pessimistic'

LD1702161392 Moscow TASS in English 1533 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—Brain drain from Russia and certain lowering of science and design potential are inevitable. This pessimistic forecast is made by academician Nikita Moiseyev, the main speaker at the conference: "Brain Drain in Present-Day Russia: Domestic and International Aspects".

The conference is attended by more than 100 specialists from Russia, Armenia, Ukraine, Belarus, Tajikistan, France, Germany. The aim of the conference is to work out recommendations of the government that could prevent or at least lessen brain drain.

The state of Russian industry and economy do not warrant demand for new scientific projects in the years ahead. The state will be unable to afford the system of research collectives that has been formed, academician Moiseyev told ITAR-TASS.

He believes that various surveys ordered every year by international organisations could be carried out by Russian researchers prompter, cheaper, and with better quality then by researchers of other countries. Such projects include the assessment of acid rains, forecast of the ecological state of the polar basin, irrigation projects and many other things.

51% 'Ready To Go'

LD1902103692 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—Fifty one percent of Moscow scientists-poll participants are ready to go abroad on a temporary contract, another six percent are ready to leave the country forever, an international conference was told here today.

The conference, with the theme "'Brain Drain' in Modern Russia: Interior and Exterior Aspects", is underway in the Moscow region.

A state system of measures to reduce the acuteness of the brain drain problem and encourage Russian scientists working on foreign contracts to return home has not been elaborated, stressed conference participants.

In their opinion, the Russian intellectual resources should be of maximum use, for instance, Russian scientists should be involved in international research. The legislation also needs corrections: first and foremost, a law on intellectual property should be adopted and the ban on hard currency payments to Russian citizens working in their Republic should be lifted.

U.S. Offers to Scientists Called 'Stunt'

PM1802161992 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 1

[Article by M. Chikin: "How We Were Duped"]

[Text] Hoorah! Yesterday we were witness to yet another brilliant victory for U.S. diplomacy and the U.S. Administration as a whole. The declaration on saving our nuclear scientists from starvation or exhausting work in the sands of Libya has put an end to debate on this topic. The U.S. secretary of state's rapid tour of the countries of the Commonwealth, his visits to secret plants and keen interest in the work of Russian scientists, and, to round off, his talks with the Russian president, culminated in a joint Russian-U.S.-German initiative on the creation of a fund to prevent nuclear scientists from being left out of work and to enable them to successfully realize their creative potential. The sum with which the new fund will be operating is also named—$100 million. In this way 300,000 scientists will be secure about their future.

On the one hand, there is nothing bad about highly qualified specialists being able not to worry that they will have to "conclude contracts with ventilator plants." It is not so terrible either that the Americans in one fell swoop have been given access to the sanctum sanctorum—Soviet secret laboratories. Why do we have secrets now, and from whom should we hide our research work?

It is becoming perfectly obvious that all this almighty fuss over Russian nuclear scientists packing their suitcases was nothing other than a propaganda stunt. A stunt pulled off brilliantly and efficiently, and enjoying tangible success. But excuse me, in the West it is possible to frighten viewers and readers with tricks like this, but how did we come to swallow the bait? Judge for yourselves, a candidate of science, living in a two-roomed apartment with his family, mother-in-law, goods and chattels, and pay of 800 rubles on his hands—where the hell would he go? Indeed, who would let him go anyway? Nuclear scientists have given a whole host of written undertakings. And the talk was of a mass exodus...

We only had to take cognizance of the fact that Washington long ago allocated 50 million to purchase our research projects, including "Energiya" and "Topaz." And the fuss over the nuclear scientists only began later. Obviously, they hardly needed to waste funds on this whole campaign. Everything is simpler with us today. Give us your freely convertible currency, we will give you "Energiya." He came, he saw, he bought up wholesale. And all these tricks are quite unnecessary.

After all, we are comrades. Is that not right, ladies and gentlemen?

Kurchatov Director Proposes Employment Office

PM1802131792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 6

[Interview with A.Yu. Gagarinskiy, deputy director of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, by unidentified correspondent under the "Specialist's Opinion" rubric; place and date not given; item carried under the general heading "West Trying To Safeguard Itself Against 'Nuclear Disintegration' of Commonwealth of Independent States"]

[Text] "What is your attitude to the idea of creating an employment office for nuclear scientists in our country with Western assistance?" Your correspondent put this question to Andrey Yuryevich Gagarinskiy, executive director of the Nuclear Society and deputy director of the I.V. Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute. This was his reply:

"Our nuclear scientists will certainly perceive such a proposal with interest. They would not be averse to working either in the West or here, at home, for high wages.

"We are now seeking to organize joint work by our own and U.S. nuclear scientists on a contract basis and to set up joint collectives. Thus, contact has already been made with the U.S. Administration's Nuclear Regulatory Commission, and there is a contract to test our nuclear plant on a U.S. spacecraft.

"I believe it is perfectly possible to create an employment office for nuclear scientists. Only we must think about how to do this in practice. Thus offers, if they are forthcoming, merit serious consideration."

Burbulis Confers With CERN Chief Rubbia

PM1702132792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Sergey Nikolayev report under the "Talks" rubric: "Husayn Won't Get Any Physicists"]

[Text] State Secretary Gennadiy Burbulis and Boris Saltykov, minister of science, higher education, and technical policy, have held talks with Carlo Rubbia, Nobel prize laureate and general director of CERN [European Organization for Nuclear Research].

CERN has 16 states as members and has a modern experimental base for carrying out basic research in high energy physics. It is here in Switzerland that most of the scientific discoveries in this field have been made using unique accelerators.

CERN leader Carlo Rubbia, who has always had a reputation as a great admirer of our school of physics, proposed the initiative of founding an International Fund for Supporting Basic Research in Russia. This organization's purpose should be to attract Western capital to support Russian scientists who continue to work in our country in line with world standards.

The idea was approved by French President Francois Mitterrand in September 1991, after which Rubbia appealed for support to the world scientific community and additionally announced that Russian scientists would be granted financial support from the CERN budget.

During the meeting with State Secretary Burbulis and Science Minister Saltykov, organizational questions concerning the utilization of the international support fund's resources and also long-term plans for cooperation between CERN and the Russian Nuclear Physics Research Institute were studied. Burbulis confirmed that Russia is becoming the legal successor to the USSR in all agreements concluded with CERN.

International Scientific Center Aims Outlined

LD1702162192 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1512 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 17 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, and German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher have issued a statement urging the establishment in Russia of an international scientific and technical support center for scientists and specialists from the former Soviet Union. The adoption of a relevant document was announced here today during a joint news conference held by Yeltsin and Baker.

It is proposed to organize at the center the development, selection, financing, and observation of projects to be carried out primarily at institutions situated in the Russian Federation and other interested states of the Commonwealth of Independent States. The aims of the center are to give scientists and specialists who have arms production knowledge the opportunity to engage in non-military projects; to reduce to a minimum the incentives for scientists to be involved in activities leading to proliferation of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons, and missile delivery systems; to employ scientists on work to reduce and abolish weapons of mass destruction; and to support the transition to a market economy.

The document says that the United States will take measures to make available $25 million for establishing the center and financing its projects. Germany is allocated the role of ensuring support for this initiative on the part of the European Community and its member states.

Human Rights Specialist Sees Obstacles

OW1302175892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The issue of scientists, particularly nuclear physicists, emigrating from Russia has two different aspects. On the one hand, they cannot be denied the right to leave the country, since this would be a violation of human rights. On the other hand, it should be realized that the proliferation of nuclear technology in the world through "brain drain" might jeopardize international security, Teimuraz Ramishvili, a leading member of the international humanitarian cooperation and human rights department of Russia's Foreign Ministry, told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent.

He welcomed Russia's call for involving scientists out of setting up an international research center to coordinate research in the area of fundamental and applied physics. According to T. Ramishvili, a similar call for setting up international research centers was made by the USSR Foreign Ministry two years ago, when the threat of unemployment loomed up before nuclear physicists. However this idea was blocked by the military-industrial complex, government and party apparatus.

Late last year a commission led by the well-known human rights activist Sergei Kovalev was formed to deal with the issue of granting the right to leave to the so-called "long-term refuseniks". According to the diplomat and lawyer T. Ramishvili, it managed to resolve a number of very complicated cases, but in each case the commission took into account the possible consequences of the departure of a scientist possessing "sensitive information".

T. Ramishvili expressed his own attitude to this problem. He believes it would be useful to draw a map of "security zones" and that of "risk zones" for the sake of comparison.

Japan Considers Participation

LD1902120192 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo February 18 TASS—Japanese Foreign Minister Michio Watanabe today welcomed the agreement of German, Russian and U.S. foreign ministers to call for the creation in Russia of an international scientific and technical center to support scientists and specialists of the former Soviet Union.

Touching on possible Japanese participation in the work of the center, the Japanese minister said the decision of this issue will be taken after estimating possible Japanese contribution and the most effective form of its involvement in the center's activities.

Data on Republics' Strategic Capability Issued

LD1402151392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Only four of the Commonwealth Republics currently possess strategic weapons. Russia's PRAVITELSTVENNY VESTNIK published the following official data on the layout of forces. You can see it on your screens [video shows the following table of figures]:

	MBR	SB	YaP
	[ICBMs]	[strategic bombers]	[nuclear submarines]
Russia	1035	70	59
Ukraine	176	30	0
Kazakhstan	104	0	0
Belarus	720	0	0

Warheads' Relocation to Perm Questioned

LD1902004392 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1526 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Perm—Regional administration refuted rumors concerning re-dislocation of nuclear warheads to a missile base near Perm from the territories of Ukraine and Belarus. This fact was featured by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA on February 8 issue with reference to a senior officer of a missile Army unit near Bershet village, who wished to remain anonymous, and later, on February 11 and 12, by the PERM ZVEZDA newspaper. Perm journalist Oleg Andriyashkin, author of the information in KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, told POSTFACTUM that despite refutations, he is certain in his informer's reliability who allegedly saw for himself tractors carrying warheads in the ammunition storage zone of the Army unit.

The Bershet garrison is situated 25 km southward of Perm. According to the Western military experts, multicharge systems RS-22, possessing 10 warheads with 550 kilotons capacity each and capable of hitting the target at a 10,000 km distance, are located here.

On February 17, Major-General Yuriy Kirillov, Bershet garrison's head, told journalists that of late nuclear warheads had been neither brought into nor taken out of the base. Right upon publication regional administration heads were allowed into Bershet who, according to Kirillov, had a possibility to see everything for themselves. Vyacheslav Igumnov, first deputy regional administration head, warned journalists that in case of publishing unverified data to the point in the future, the administration is ready in keeping with the law on the press to demand identification of information sources from the authors. General Kirillov also added that the command of the base expects the arrival of the NATO inspectors. The inspection terms have not been determined so far. Journalists are not likely to unconditionally accept the refutations, noting that the military will always deny everything. Nevertheless, an officer of a special department of a Perm division, who asked not to name him, told POSTFACTUM that special departments in the Army units were not operating of late in guaranteeing security of transporting of any military cargoes, which is always the case while transporting nuclear weapons.

Citizens Polled on Relocating Nuclear Weapons

OW1702075692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0655 GMT 17 Feb 92

["Viewpoint"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The National Public Opinion Studies Center asked in January 1597 people in Russia, 517 in Ukraine and 240 in Kazakhstan to express their attitude to the idea that all former Soviet Union's nuclear weapons should be concentrated in Russia.

Russian respondents showed the most enthusiastic support for the option: 43% said the relocation would serve best the national interests.

This opinion was shared by 21% of the respondents in Kazakhstan and 19% in Ukraine.

14% of the Russians supported the idea because they believed this would help Russia keep its status of a great power.

39% of the respondents in Ukraine, 30% in Kazakhstan and 4% in Russia were opposed to concentrating all nuclear weapons in Russia because, they said, this would give Russia an undue advantage over other CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries.

15% of the respondents in Russia, 8% in Ukraine and 6% in Kazakhstan said the relocation would do a lot of harm to Russian security.

Fleet Finishes Submarine Investigation

OW1802165692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1525 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama": "CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Navy Command Thinks the U.S. Submarine Has Entered Russia's Waters"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The command of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Navy has rejected the claims of the U.S. side to the effect that the American submarine which collided with a CIS nuclear submarine in the southern part of the Barents Sea on February 11 was outside Russia's territorial waters. The command believes the Russian government should send a protest note to the USA.

Our correspondent has been told in the Navy headquarters in Moscow that the investigation of the incident has been finished in the Northern Fleet. According to a report sent to the Commander in Chief of the CIS Armed Forces, Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, and signed by Admiral Ivan Kapitanets, the CIS submarine collided with a foreign one at a depth of 22 metres at 8:16 p.m. on February 11. The CIS submarine was first hit on the conning tower and then on the stern, the report says.

The incident, the report stresses, was aggravated by the fact that the collision took place within Russian territorial waters in the Arctic Ocean.

The report also points out that before that foreign naval vessels, including U.S. ones, had never passed through that area without a special permission from the Russian authorities.

"The fact that a foreign submarine should be secretly operating within our territorial waters is bound to cause concern in the Russian leadership," the report says and suggests that the naval command and the Russian Foreign Ministry prepare a relevant note to be sent to the U.S. government. It might be suggested to the Americans, the authors of the report believe, that negotiations be resumed on initial lines and historic bays which were interrupted in 1990.

As our correspondent was told in the Navy headquarters in Moscow, the Russian government regards as initial the line running between a point in Cape Tsypnavolok and a point on Kilgin Island at the entrance to the Kola Bay. In keeping with international law, Russia also regards the 12-mile zone along this line as its territorial waters. The USA does not recognise this, however. In earlier years, U.S. vessels also entered sea areas which the USSR regarded as its territorial waters near Sevastopol, Vladivostok and Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy. The bilateral negotiations on the issue held until 1990 yielded no results and were suspended.

Protest Note Sent

LD1902004892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast—read by announcer Sergey Dorenko]

[Text] The command of the Commonwealth of Independent States Navy deems it expedient to send a protest note to the United States in connection with the fact that a U.S. submarine collided with our sumbarine in Russian territorial waters. The Americans believe that the submarine was outside our territorial waters. None of the sides, however, is even a bit surprised by the fact that these miracles of technology could collide at all in the first place.

U.S. Official Confirms Accident

LD1802203792 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Washington February 18 TASS—A U.S. and former Soviet Navy submarines collided in the Barents Sea last week, a U.S. official accompanying U.S. Defence Secretary Dick Cheney on his trip to Guatemala said on Tuesday [18 February].

The official, who asked not to be identified, said the U.S. submarine was cruising at periscope depth when it was hit by the surfacing Commonwealth on February 11.

There was no significant damage or injury to the crew of the U.S. submarine which was returning to its home port in Norfolk, Virginia, REUTERS said.

Baker's Uzbek, Russian Talks Reviewed

PM1702170792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Vladimir Mikheyev and Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov report: "J. Baker Holds Talks in Central Asia on Diplomatic Relations, in Moscow on Disarmament. U.S. Secretary of State's Trip Focuses on Crescent Moon and Plutonium"]

[Text] The scenario for U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker's trip around the cities and villages of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] could be divided up into three stages. First he visited "hot spots" or zones of potential conflict—Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Armenia. Then the visit focused on the crescent moon in the Central Asian republics. And a separate stage is the visit to Yekaterinburg and Chelyabinsk and the talks in Moscow.

On Sunday [16 February] there was a meeting between J. Baker and Uzbek President Islam Karimov in Tashkent—the last of Baker's personal contacts with the leaders of the sovereign Central Asian states. In Tashkent, as in Ashkhabad and Dushanbe, J. Baker transparently hinted at the multifarious advantages to be gained from diplomatic recognition of the newly formed states, but only if they observe the "rules of good behavior"—in other words, the criteria set by the United States for democracy and adherence to a free market economy.

The Uzbek president, according to J. Baker as quoted by AP, completely agreed with a whole series of "principles seen by the United States as a precondition for the establishment of diplomatic relations, including respect for human rights, democratic reforms, and a market economy." It is apposite to quote another of Washington's provisos: The intensity of the dialogue will be determined by the progress of reform in each Central Asian republic over the course of the next two to three years. "Trust, but verify"?

At the news conference I. Karimov stated Uzbekistan's firm adherence to the path of democratic transformations, citing as proof the fact that contested elections had been held to choose the head of state. The following facts were also mentioned as information for the guest to consider—currently more than 90 states have recognized independent Uzbekistan, and diplomatic relations have been established with more than 20 countries.

Foreign observers' commentaries have not overlooked I. Karimov's September 1991 statement that Uzbekistan, which is not ready for democracy, prefers the Chinese communist model. Now the Uzbek president's words at the Sunday news conference are being quoted: "Uzbekistan is prepared to build an open society where there will be no one-party diktat." This is symbolic, since in Tashkent J. Baker met with A. Pulatov, leader of the "Birlik" opposition movement, who welcomed the prospect of establishing diplomatic relations with the United States. The opposition, as one U.S. official put it, sees this as a guarantee of protection from government intimidation.

Uzbekistan reaffirmed that it intends to stand by the former USSR's commitments regarding the nonproliferation of nuclear weapons, technologies, and the means to develop [sozdaniye] mass destruction weaponry, our own correspondent in Tashkent Shakhabutdin Zaynutdinov reported.

How successful was the second stage of the secretary of state's itinerary? The paramount task was uncompromising: not to permit any increase in the influence wielded in the region by fundamentalist Iran, which, it seems, Washington continues to view as the "great Satan." The Central Asian republics' response, it seems to me, boils down to the dual formula that adherence to democracy and the market does not impose a taboo on good-neighborly ties with other Muslim countries. J. Baker had barely left for the European part of Russia before the leaders of the Central Asian republics set off for Tehran for talks with the Economic Cooperation Organization, which includes Iran, Pakistan, and Turkey.

Meanwhile, J. Baker was beginning a discussion in Moscow with Russian President Boris Yeltsin on the problems of strategic offensive arms reduction and the creation of a global security system. Washington is proposing to cut the level of nuclear warheads to 4,700 on each side. Moscow proposes going further—to 2,500. Will there be a compromise? REUTER recalls that "...any further cuts will affect the U.S. submarine-launched nuclear arsenal—an area where the Americans have a clear advantage."

Another burning subject is finding work for our nuclear physicists, who earn on average (figures for January) 900 rubles [R] a month and a maximum of R1,500. According to the director of the Technical Physics Scientific Research Institute in the closed city of Chelyabinsk-70, which was visited by the U.S. secretary of state, none of the institute's staffers yet want to try their luck in finding a better job abroad. But the pressure continues. What will happen in the future?

In the future, the United States (which is cooperating in this area with Germany) proposes, specialists in this field could find refuge at an international center where options for "human conversion" could be worked out and military-industrial complex products could be turned into consumer goods. The idea has been raised of providing special containers and reliable rail cars to transport and store tactical nuclear munitions, all of which will have been shipped to the Russian Federation from the republics by 1 July.

There is also talk of more substantive aid from the West to destroy the plutonium extracted from tactical munitions. Without any support it will take us between five and seven years to build storage facilities. And only then will we be able to embark on eliminating the weapons. We need help.

'Washington's Realignment' Examined

LD1802182892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1601 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS World Service observer Andrey Sidorin]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The change in the U.S. Administration's geopolitical view of relations with the republics of the former USSR was demonstrated by U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's 10-day trip to the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] which ended today. Washington's realignment was clearly apparent during his visits to Moldova, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, several scientific-industrial centers in Russia, and his talks with those countries' leaders and in Moscow. From now on Washington is seeking to develop relations equally both with Russia, the former USSR's legal successor, and with the other republics of the CIS.

Both the press of the Commonwealth states and the American press noted during the visit that there was good reason for the U.S. Administration's particular interest in the republics that are located where Europe and Asia meet, and also in Moldova. As independent sovereign states, their policies may affect the change in the geopolitical situation in regions as strategically important to the United States and the whole world as the Middle East [Srednii Vostok] and southeastern Europe.

The secretary of state's unprecedented trip probably aimed mainly to initiate personal high-level contacts with the republics' leadership, to discuss the question of establishing diplomatic relations, to feel out potential channels for the development of bilateral ties, and to receive certain political guarantees, bearing in mind American interests, in exchange for possible American aid.

As for his official talks in Moscow, their central topic was, as expected, strategic offensive weapons. In the Russian capital, James Baker met Russian President Boris Yeltsin and Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev. The sides expressed satisfaction with the approximation of the positions of the United States and Russia as regards the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, although they noted the presence of "minor differences." One important result of the Moscow talks was the decision, at the instigation of Russia, the United States, and Germany, to create an international scientific-technical center to support scientists and specialists of the former USSR. The main direction of its activities will be to reduce to a minimum the incentives for scientists to take part in activities leading to the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and of missile systems for delivering them.

NKAO Mediation by Iran, Others Viewed

PM1402170992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 13 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 4

[Report by Aleksey Portanskiy: "Iran Offers To Mediate"]

[Text] The other day Armenian Foreign Minister Ovanesyan and Deputy Chairman of the Azerbaijan parliament Karayev visited Tehran in rapid succession. Possible mediation by Tehran in settling the conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh was one of the main questions during their meetings with the top leadership of Iran.

Does this mean that there has been some kind of evolution in the sides' approach to resolving the conflict?

"Armenia considers peace talks to be the only way to resolve the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh," Feliks Mamikonyan, Armenian permanent representative in Moscow, told IZVESTIYA. "In this regard Armenia is ready to examine mediation by any party which offers its services. There are a number of countries whose mediation makes particular sense, and Armenia's near neighbors fall into this category: Turkey, Iran, and, of course, Russia. Iranian mediation could be effective because of the many traditional ties existing between Iran and Azerbaijan and Iran and Armenia. It does not, however, preclude the participation of other countries. As far as Russian mediation is concerned, the encouraging start made by the Yeltsin and Nazarbayev mission is well remembered in Armenia and is thought to still contain large untapped potential.

"The solution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem is part of a more general question—the creation of a regional security system in which Turkey, Iran, Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Georgia would participate. It is also essential that Russia and, clearly, the United States take part in discussion of this question."

"The offer by any state coming forward with an initiative to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem creates the most favorable reaction in Azerbaijan," said Azerbaijan's permanent representative, Zaur Rustam-zade. "The first steps taken by Russia and Kazakhstan were received with great hope by us; however, after the signing of the agreement, the number of Armenian gunmen on Azerbaijan territory increased. We have held talks in our permanent mission in Moscow involving the Human Rights Commission, Armenian and Azerbaijan parliamentarians, and representatives of the Sakharov Congress. As a result decisions were made which could halt the bloodshed. It seems illogical to us that Armenia is taking no steps to repeal the unconstitutional acts regarding the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO].

"We are also worried today by the nature of certain statements by the Russian president regarding Azerbaijan. Particularly the statement that Azerbaijan should not yet be admitted to the United Nations. The Russian president's lack of objectivity toward us was also shown, in our view, by the signing of the agreement with Armenia, which, incidentally, has not been ratified by the Russian parliament.

"James Baker has just visited Armenia and Azerbaijan. The arrival of a CSCE commission is expected in the next few days. The commission will visit Baku, Nagorno-Karabakh, and Yerevan. We pin great hope on this mission."

We have already written in our newspaper that, unfortunately, the time is over when the center possssed real authority and levers for influencing the situation. As the legal successor to the USSR in the international arena, Russia does, of course, bear a certain responsibility for the status of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem, and for that reason is within the Commonwealth framework held specially accountable and has special expectations pinned on it by the sides in conflict, although the participation of Kazakhstan or other states belonging to the Commonwealth of Independent States would also be desirable. At the same time there is every ground for thinking that international efforts using CSCE and UN mechanisms will now be required to settle the conflict. But that does not preclude the involvement of countries like Iran or Turkey in the mediation mission.

CSCE Exploring Human Rights Issue

*OW1402171592 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1526 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia is ready to participate in the settlement of the Karabakh problem, Russia's first deputy foreign minister, Fedor Shelov-Kovedyayev, said during a meeting with the delegation of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) headed by Karl Schwarzenburg on February 13 in Moscow.

According to Schwarzenberg, the CSCE in keeping with the existing rules sends its representatives to those countries which joined the CSCE to make clear a state of affairs "on the spot," specifically regarding the observance of human rights. The CSCE delegation has been sent to Armenia and Azerbaijan exactly with this purpose, not with an intermediary mission, he stressed.

Armenia and Azerbaijan, together with other former Soviet republics within the Commonwealth of Independent States, were admitted to the CSCE late in January of this year (at the Council meeting of foreign ministers of CSCE member states in Prague). CSCE delegations will be sent to all these countries, Schwarzenberg pointed out.

General Tells Conference War 'Impossible'

*LD1802232392 Moscow TASS in English
2105 GMT 18 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Sergey Skripnikov]

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—A world war between two political systems, for which the Warsaw Treaty Organization and the NATO were preparing for many years, is now considered impossible.

However, a large number of confrontation spots throughout the world and inside the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] is fraught with actual threat, chairman of the Association of Military-Political and Military-Historical Studies Major General Yuriy Kirshin told an international conference on collective security in Moscow today.

The conference that began here yesterday is attended by military experts from the NATO headquarters in Brussels, the Allied Forces for Northern Europe in Norway, the British Military Academy in Sandhurst and the Potomac Fund.

The CIS is represented by experts from the Armed Forces, the Russian Foreign Ministry, specialists from the Institute of the United States and Canada, guests from permanent representations of the CIS member states in Moscow, and observers from Georgia and Armenia.

General Kirshin's speech provoked the greatest interest of conference participants, since it focused on basic principles of military doctrine and military reform.

The defence doctrine of the socialist state should be replaced by a coalition doctrine of joint defence of a group of independent states with different social and political systems, Kirshin believes. Estimating actual forces that may threaten the security of the Commonwealth is a key step in this direction in his opinion.

A representative of the NATO headquarters in Brussels told ITAR-TASS the world has become safer militarily speaking and that he cannot imagine a situation in which NATO and a CIS member state would come into conflict. He said his organization is ready to cooperate with all CIS states and the whole Commonwealth.

In his opinion, the North Atlantic cooperation council set up last year could be most efficiently used in this sphere.

New European Security Concept Proposed

*LD1402132992 Moscow TASS in English
1213 GMT 14 Feb 92*

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow February 14 TASS—Several former Soviet public organisations have developed a new concept of security for the Commonwealth of Independent States, the Baltic States and Europe.

The concept includes new disarmament initiatives, draft agreements between Commonwealth states on collective security, coordinating defence bodies, Commonwealth peacekeeping forces and their use to settle conflicts between Commonwealth states, Aleksandr Nikitin, director of the Centre for Political and International Research, told ITAR-TASS.

The concept was developed by the International Federation of Peace and Accord, the Centre for Political and International Research and the Association for Military-Political and Military-Historical Research with the participation of representatives of the defence ministries and parliamentary committees for security of Estonia, Latvia, Lithuanian, Belarus, Moldova, Russia and Kazakhstan, observers from Ukraine and NATO and U.N. experts.

They will hold their next meeting in Moscow between February 17-19.

Commonwealth Affairs

Further Reportage on, Reaction to Minsk Summit

PM1902111592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 92 Moscow Edition p 1

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko, Nikolay Matukovskiy, and Mikhail Shimanskiy under general heading: "Differences Over Army Problems Could Conquer 'Invincible and Legendary' Army"]

[Text] In the morning of 14 February the delegations assembled in the building of the former Belorussian Communist Party Central Committee, which now belongs to the republic's Supreme Soviet. The communist symbols in the form of cast metal figures of the leaders, were removed from the marble pilasters at the central entrance only a few days before the meeting.

At B. Yeltsin's proposal L. Kravchuk was asked to chair the meeting. To judge by fragmentary reports, and it is only in fragmentary form that reports are reaching journalists via representatives of various delegations, at the initial stage of discussion of the agenda contradictions arose on the main problem: whether or not there should be CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] joint armed forces. The point is that Ukraine, Belarus, Moldova, and Azerbaijan are not prepared to accept that idea. Here there were complaints from some state leaders over the positions and actions of their counterparts on questions of ownership of military groupings. In particular L. Kravchuk stated that Ukraine will not agree to the solution of the fate of the Black Sea Fleet without its participation and accused the Russian authorities of beginning to sell the fleet's warships through joint-stock companies formed for the purpose.

The nature of the discussion of the block of military questions threatened to lead the session into an impasse. The initiative was taken by President N. Nazarbayev, who suggested four options for the future model of the Armed Forces. What are they precisely?

Defining a transitional period for the Armed Forces. But since some states have embarked on the creation of their own armies, this proposal, the author said, has little chance of success, and he rejects it.

Agreeing here, at the meeting, on the creation of its own Armed Forces by each CIS state and later concluding a treaty on joint forces.

The CIS countries which advocate the unification of the Armed Forces create such armed forces and the others create their own armies and do not join the Commonwealth as regards military issues.

All military contingents on the territory of the independent CIS states switch to their jurisdiction and then a treaty is concluded on their unification.

After these proposals it was decided to take a break and discuss them in the delegations. L. Kravchuk noted that he supports the initiatives set out by Nazarbayev.

By the time this issue of IZVESTIYA was published the CIS heads of state had not been able to determine their attitude toward the cornerstone of the new model for the Armed Forces. Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova stand firmly on the position of forming their own armies but unifying the strategic forces. Belarus is in favor of joint armed forces which would be subordinate to a single command and would have a unified budget. The armies stationed on the territories of the independent states would also be subordinate to their political leadership (dual subordination)... All the other delegations favor joint armed forces. Without reservations.

A complex situation took shape at the session after the statement by representatives of some nonnuclear states to the effect that they must not contribute to the budget for the joint strategic forces since they do not have nuclear weapons. L. Kravchuk was not at a loss. His response was that if a particular state wants to be under the CIS umbrella, it must pay for it and if not then it cannot be blamed for saying "no."

On the point of the main command Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov suggested the following scheme: one commander and two deputies. One of them would be responsible for the strategic forces, the other for the joint armed forces of a number of CIS states. This formulation gives grounds for saying that not all the CIS states will create the joint forces.

A member of the Georgian provisional government was present at the session as an observer.

It is hard to predict the outcome of the meeting.

Step To 'Normal Economic' Ties

LD1602051792 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2025 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Unscheduled video report presented by unidentified commentator, including recorded remarks by Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, Commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States Armed Forces; Leonid Kravchuk, president of Ukraine; Shakhray, Russian deputy prime minister; Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarussian Supreme Soviet; and Russian President Boris Yeltsin; place and date not given: "The Minsk Meeting—February 1992"]

[Text] [video shows foyer at Minsk meeting, leaders chatting, conference room] Since the inception of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], it seems that every summit by its leaders has hastened the end of the new union. There were plenty of pessimistic predictions before the current one, especially because there were 13 items on the agenda on one of the most dangerous of problems: the Army. However, the pessimists once again have been put to shame: the CIS has survived.

[video shows Marshal Shaposhnikov and other military watching air show, fighter aircraft going through paces and lined up on tarmac]

The military evidently have a better-developed instinct for self-preservation than the politicians. During the three days prior to the summit, they managed to agree on all the issues, and because of this, rewarded themselves with a magnificent spectacle. True, the air show more likely was for the politicians' benefit, and should have demonstrated to them not so much the achievements of our country's aviation industry, as the need to keep the Air Force, and the rest of the military, above it all.

The politicians ignored the air show, but they did try to keep a unified Army. The CIS does have joint Armed Forces. True, Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan play no part in them. In two years' time, neither will Belarus. But, taking into account the agreements signed by the remainder on a defense budget, on the status of the strategic forces, and on the conventional forces for an interim period, the military can celebrate a temporary victory, especially as the heads of state decided to uphold their rights and provide them with all necessities. So, at least one of Marshal Shaposhnikov's dreams seems to have come true.

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] I dream of an Army that is not wondering where its next meal will come from, that is not wondering where it is going to live, what it is going to wear, what it is going to eat. If a state needs an army, that state should look after that army. I believe that to do so is not my job only. [video shows Shaposhnikov on the tarmac, flanked by other officers] [end recording]

Now he will not have to sell off the Black Sea Fleet's submarines, which is what President Kravchuk accused him of doing. Marshal Shaposhnikov had to listen to a fair number of unpleasant words:

[Begin Kravchuk recording] Seventy percent of the misunderstandings that are arising between us regarding relations between states and the Armed Forces Command, I believe, are due to Marshal Shaposhnikov, and if not to him, then to his deputies. That much is certain. Let me give you one example. Can the Commonwealth exist if its decisions can be cancelled by the marshal, without prior consultation with the Commonwealth's leaders? It's impossible, but this is what we have today. We agreed that gross interference in each other's affairs is excluded. If an order is issued to a unit stationed inside our state, it has to be agreed upon with the head of state. But that is not done. So, I continue to regret this today. I do have some patience left, though. I want to see what happens for another month. [video shows Kravchuk in Minsk conference foyer] [end recording]

Still, Marshal Shaposhnikov kept his post as commander in chief. He even can congratulate himself for not having to command at the same time several armies fighting against each other. [video shows Shaposhnikov and others watching the air show]

The heads of states announced that in relations between them, the use or the threat of the use of force will be ruled out. All disputes will be resolved through negotiation. This rightly instils us with optimism.

[Begin Shakhray recording] I believe that there still will be problems for a long time to come, but this is nothing terrible or surprising. The main thing is that it is accepted that there is just one way of resolving them: talks, more talks, and working out an agreement. In any event, the strategic interests of these states coincide in many respects, so there is optimism. [video shows Shakhray in foyer at Minsk conference] [end recording]

It was no thanks to the people of Minsk, who, from the morning, tried to picket the venue for the summit, that these talks were more successful. But, during the day they summoned up their strength and held a demonstration. The placards and their demands already are familiar from Moscow rallies: Feed the people. Each speaker described his poverty-stricken situation. But all the member states of the Commonwealth are in the same situation. Thousands of factories are standing idle without supplies, materials, or parts. The links between enterprises have been disrupted. Thousands of people are on enforced and unpaid leave. Urban transport is grinding to a halt—there's no gasoline. We're all tied up together: the hostages of the former USSR. [video shows demonstration outside public building; banners reading "Let's Revive the Soviet Union [!']'; "CIS leaders—Give People Jobs So They Can Live [!']'; "CIS leaders—With Market Prices, Give Us a Chance To Earn Market Wages"; "CIS! We Are For Maintaining Economic Ties"]

[Begin Kravchuk recording] You should not think that way: that if Russia were to withhold something from Ukraine, then Russia would strangle Ukraine. Sure, it could strangle us, but we will both die—Russia the day after us. [video shows airport, Kravchuk being interviewed, aircraft behind him] [end recording]

We have got to get out of that kind of situation. So, the presidents started examining the economic state of affairs in the Commonwealth, in addition to military matters.

[Begin Shushkevich recording] We have ascertained that, in general, the diseases afflicting the CIS countries are one and the same. These diseases are exactly the same, so on the whole we need to unite to cure them. Uniting will help us resolve these issues—first of all, economic issues, even though strangely enough we gathered mainly to discuss military matters, as you know. [video shows Shushkevich addressing news conference] [end recording]

It was decided to include economic questions on the agenda as well. At last the politicians have realized that you can't sort out political problems without having sorted out the economy. For the first time since the Commonwealth came into being, the presidents discussed issues that they previously had delegated to their prime ministers. As a result they agreed to lift, as of today, all restrictions on concluding supply contracts. [video shows Minsk meeting, leaders around conference tables, documents in brief closeup, Yeltsin and other leaders signing]

To avert a power crisis that would throw the entire Commonwealth into darkness, they decided to coordinate their actions regarding power engineering. So the integral power grid remains. As does an integral transport system with an integral price system, which already is muddled enough as it is. For example, from now a ticket from Moscow to Kiev will cost the same as one back to Moscow. And it will be for rubles—it has also been decided to keep the ruble currency zone for the time being.

As you will recall, in Minsk and Alma-Ata, the republics' presidents persuaded Yeltsin to hold fire on the economic reform in Russia. Now an agreement has been signed on coordinating reforms. Parts of this document have been signed as they are, and other parts preliminarily, pending finalization. Unfortunately, the group of experts, to quote Shushkevich, thinks along the old Soviet lines. Many of the agreements will be signed in their final form only on March 20 in Kiev.

So, the presidents concluded a host of agreements. But one thing remains unclear: Who's going to implement them? The Commonwealth has no executive arm as yet. All these agreements could well remain on paper. Yet the first step toward establishing normal economic relations has been taken. It was worth holding the summit for that alone. All's well that ends well.

[Begin Kravchuk recording] I can tell you that on the whole an atmosphere of good will prevailed during the summit, and this allowed us to reach decisions, notwithstanding our varying approaches. [video shows Kravchuk addressing news conference] [end recording]

[Begin Shushkevich recording] The fact that we are not all the same is no reason for protests about each other, if you take a sensible view of such things. [video shows Shushkevich addressing another news conference] [end recording]

[Begin Yeltsin recording] There is more optimism than ever today. [video shows Yeltsin in hallway] [end recording]

The pessimists have been put to shame. It looks as if there were no optimists, either. The journalists and politicians are packing up for Kiev. [video shows Yeltsin shaking hands with Kravchuk, Burbulis doubled up with laughter, beams all around; limousines drawing up onto airport tarmac]

Military Representatives Comment

LD1402142392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1258 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By unidentified BELTA-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Minsk, 14 Feb (BELTA-TASS)—At a session of the Commonwealth heads of states being held in Minsk, eight countries, save for Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova, commenced work today on an agreement on a unified command for the armed forces for a two-year transitional period. They have set up a working group to elaborate the document.

Most of the former USSR's Army and Navy officers believe that it is possible to preserve a unified military command for the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS]. This is the view of Captain First Rank Andrey Mochaykin, chairman of the Coordinating Council of Officers' Meetings of the CIS Armed Forces, and Major General Yevgeniy Razinkov, member of the council's presidium, who are taking part in the meeting in Minsk as representatives of the many-thousands-strong Army and Navy officers' corps. If it is not possible for this option to materialize, they believe, then a defensive union should be set up for the transitional period with a united military command being retained. A unified command is permissible in case an external threat to the Commonwealth countries arises and combat operations commence.

"We also propose that a convention on the nonuse of national armed forces to settle controversial issues should be worked out and signed on an interstate level," stated the representatives of the officers' corps.

Agreement on Defense Budget

LD1802142792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1252 GMT 18 Feb 92

["Agreement Between the Member-States of the Commonwealth of Independent States on Formation of a Single Defense Budget and the Procedure for Financing the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth States"—TASS headline]

[Text] [no dateline as received]

The Azerbaijan Republic, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, Turkmenia, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine, henceforth described as "the Commonwealth member states," proceeding from the need to make financial provision for the armed forces of the Commonwealth states, have agreed on the following:

Article 1

A single defense budget being formed to finance the armed forces of the Commonwealth states includes the following forms of expenditure on an annual basis:

Maintenance of the army and navy (money allowance for servicemen, salaries of permanent members of staff and office workers, food supplies, payment for clothing and related gear, payment for and storage of special fuels, repair and preparation of weapons, military equipment and property, transportation costs, lease of telecommunications facilities, maintenance of cosmodromes, special testing grounds, bases and depots, covering in rubles any foreign currency spent on maintaining troops on the border, operational, supply and other expenditure connected with providing necessary supplies to the troops);

Payment for weapons, military equipment and property, including purchase of nuclear munitions;

Payment for scientific and technical production;

Capital construction and capital repairs, including specialized construction and housing construction;

Provision of pensions for servicemen and members of their families.

Article 2

Expenditure on the upkeep of the army and navy will be determined on the basis of the de facto numerical strength of servicemen, workmen, and support personnel of the armed forces of the Commonwealth states; of established levels of and maintenance standards for weaponry, military hardware, and assets; of existing prices and tariffs; of combat training plans; of production and commercial activities; and of other factors.

Expenditure on armaments, military hardware, and facilities will be determined on the basis of their planned supply volumes to maintain the armed forces of the Commonwealth states within the limits of the funds budgeted.

Expenditure on scientific and technological products will be determined on the basis of planned volumes of scientific research and development for military purposes, with account taken of their results and relevance, within the limits of the monies budgeted.

Capital investment in and expenditure on construction of new facilities and reconstruction and expansion of existing fixed assets will be determined as the sum total of spending on creation of proper conditions for combat and special training, on living standards, on storage, maintenance, and repair of armaments, military hardware, and assets, on command bodies, on medical services and recreation for personnel, and also on provision of servicemen and the members of their families with accommodation, social amenities, and consumer facilities.

Expenditure on pensions for servicemen in the armed forces of the Commonwealth states and the members of their families will be determined on the basis of the number of pensioners and the pension sums due to them.

Article 3

The member states of the Commonwealth will recognize the desirability of defining the single defense budget according to the prices of the base year, with allowance for the forecast price index and for social safeguards for servicemen and the members of their families.

Article 4

The draft single defense budget will be drawn up by the high command of the Commonwealth states' armed forces, considered by the Council of Defense Ministers (chairmen of defense committees) of the Commonwealth member states, and submitted to the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth. The single defense budget will be endorsed by the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth upon representation by the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth.

Article 5

The member states of the Commonwealth undertake to join in the formation of the single defense budget by way of payment of fixed contributions. The extent and procedure for payment of the fixed contribution of each Commonwealth member state will be determined by the Council of Heads of Government of the Commonwealth.

Article 6

If, in the course of a year, the need arises for additional expenditure not envisaged in the single defense budget as endorsed, a procedure for payment into the single defense budget and for financing of the armed forces of the Commonwealth states will be determined in accordance with this agreement.

Article 7

An annual account on implementation of the single defense budget will be submitted by the commander in chief of the armed forces of the Commonwealth states to the Council of Heads of State of the Commonwealth.

This agreement will come into effect when it is signed. Done in the city of Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one original copy in Russian. The original will be held in the archives of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will forward a certified copy to the signatory states.

The document is signed by the representatives of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenia, and Uzbekistan, some of whom have made personal notes.

The document contains the following special opinion, signed by the presidents of Azerbaijan and Ukraine: The Republics of Azerbaijan and Ukraine will not join in the formation of a single defense budget for the upkeep of the joint strategic forces, but will assume a share of the financing solely of the upkeep of the strategic forces on their territory for a period of time determined for the Republic of Azerbaijan and Ukraine in accordance with the Minsk agreement between the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States on strategic forces, dated 30 December 1991.

Electricity Generation Agreement

LD1802213792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1325 GMT 18 Feb 92

["An agreement between the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States on electricity power engineering"—TASS headline]

[Text] [No dateline as received]

Agreement on coordinating interstate relations in the field of electricity power engineering among the Commonwealth of Independent States

The governments of the Republic of Azerbaijan, the Republic of Armenia, the Republic of Belarus, the Republic of Kazakhstan, the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, the Republic of Moldova, the Russian Federation, the Republic of Tajikistan, The Republic of Turkmenistan, the Republic of Uzbekistan, and Ukraine, on the basis of the decision of the heads of the governments of the states of 8 February 1992; taking account of the special role of electricity power engineering in the economy and social development of states; aware of the advantages of the parallel operation of electricity power stations and unified power grids of the member states; being convinced that there exists a joint interest in an effective resolution of the problems of electricity power supplies, the safety of power generating and, in particular, nuclear facilities and of environmental protection; conscious of the obligations arising from interstate agreements and desiring to preserve the readiness of states for cooperation, based on mutual respect and trust, consider that the agreement on parallel operation, founded on the principles of equal rights, mutual advantage and noninterference in the questions of internal management of power generating systems of the contracting parties is the basis of the coordination of interstate relations in the area of electricity power engineering, and conclude this agreement as follows:

Article 1. The Electricity Power Engineering Council

With the object of carrying out joint and coordinated actions aimed at ensuring the stable and reliable supply of electricity to the national economy and the population of the states on the basis of the effective operation of the unified power systems, the states are forming the Electricity Power Engineering council of the Commonwealth of Independent States. (referred to as the "Electricity Power Engineering Council" in the remainder of the text)

The first leaders of the electricity power generation bodies of administration—the plenipotentiary representatives of the member states of the council—are the members of the Electricity Power Engineering council.

Article 2. The functions of the Electricity Power Engineering Council

2.1 To define acceptable working principles within the unified power systems.

2.2 To participate in the preparation of coordinated interstate agreements for mutual supplies of electric power and fuel for power stations based on long-term balances of energy, capacities, and fuel with due consideration for the market interplay of interstate transfers of energy and capacity.

2.3 To organize mutual assistance in the provision of power to consumers and in maintaining the stability of the unified power systems in extraordinary situations and under extreme conditions.

2.4 To coordinate the development and implementation jointly with the governments of the states of a strategy for the development of electricity power engineering as part of the fuel and power complex and of programs for the long-term development of the unified power systems.

2.5 To coordinate interstate scientific programs and experimental design work in the field of electricity and heat supply, new technologies and equipment.

2.6 To provide help and assistance to the participants in the agreement in the organization of interstate supplies of material and technical resources, power generation equipment, spare parts, means of protection, gear, construction designs for the operational and repair requirements of functioning power generation facilities and for the construction of new sources of power.

2.7 To agree upon recommendations relating to standards and methods for drawing up the tariff for interstate supplies of electric power and capacity.

2.8 To agree upon norms and rules for the operation and construction of electricity power engineering facilities.

2.9 To agree according to single international standards upon a single international space in the field of electricity power engineering and construction.

To organize joint participation in international conferences and international power engineering organizations.

2.10 To coordinate the development jointly with the manufacturing enterprises of new power-engineering equipment and also of interstate programs for the modernization of existing equipment, of heat supply and electricity grids and control, management and communications systems.

2.11 To create joint ecological programs in the field of electricity power engineering.

2.12 To agree upon single forms of accounting and accountability in electricity power engineering, essential for the making of joint decisions.

2.13 To work out recommendations for energy savings in electricity power engineering and to introduce nontraditional sources of energy.

Article 3. Management bodies of the Electricity Power Engineering Council

The Electricity Power Engineering Council is headed by a president and vice president who are appointed by the council for a period of one year on rotation in an agreed sequence from among the first leaders of the electric power engineering industries of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The location of the president of the Electricity Power Engineering Council is the capital of the state that he represents.

Article 4. Organization of the work of the Electricity Power Engineering Council

The Electricity Power Engineering Council meets at least twice a year.

An extraordinary sitting of the Electricity Power Engineering Council may be called either by a decision of the president or on a proposal of no less than three members of the council.

The place where the sittings of the Electricity Power Engineering Council are held is the capital of the state, the leader of whose electricity power engineering heads the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

Article 5. The working body of the Electricity Power Engineering Council and its functions

The executive committee is the working body of the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

The executive committee is headed by a chairman who is appointed by the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

The executive committee is accountable to the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

The chairman of the executive committee is responsible for the preparation of necessary materials for the sitting of the Electricity Power Engineering Council and takes part in these sittings.

The Electricity Power Engineering Council confirms the structure, the number, the estimated expenditure and the form of remuneration of the members and servicing staff of the executive committee.

The personal composition of the executive committee is determined by its chairman within the limits of the structure and expenditure estimate confirmed by the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

The work of the executive body of the Electricity Power Engineering Council is concentrated on matters concerning the preparation of documentation ensuring the functioning of the Electricity Power Engineering Council and is carried out in accordance with a special plan confirmed by the chairman.

The executive committee is located in the city of Moscow.

Article 6. Financing the activity of the Electricity Power Engineering Council

The financing of the activity of the Electricity Power Engineering Council and its working bodies is carried out by means of identical contributions from the electricity power engineering associations (companies) and electricity power systems of the states.

Collective funds may be formed under the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

The procedure for forming and using the funds is confirmed by the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

Article 7. The load dispatch administration

The relationship between the power systems of the states and the central load dispatch administration is regulated by special agreements concluded in accordance with the agreement on the organization of the operational load-dispatch administration.

Article 8. The responsibility of the contracting parties

The states bear reciprocal responsibility for violating the liabilities defined by the present agreement.

The Electricity Power Engineering Council bears responsibility before each state for carrying out the functions set out in Article 2 of the present agreement.

Article 9. The coming into force of the agreement

This agreement comes into force on the day it is signed and remains in force for an indefinite period. The agreement may be supplemented or altered with the consensus of the parties which are signatory to it.

Article 10. Renunciation of the agreement

In the case of a desire to sever relations arising from this agreement, any state informs the Electricity Power Engineering Council of this. On the expiry of one year, the party that has made this declaration is free from any obligations that arise from this agreement.

Article 11. Other states joining this agreement

Other states may join this agreement by conveying an appropriate request to the Electricity Power Engineering Council. This becomes effective once all the signatory parties to the agreement have given their consent.

Article 12. The official and the working languages of the Electricity Power Engineering Council

The languages of the states are the official languages of the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

The Russian language is the working language of the Electricity Power Engineering Council.

Done in the city of Minsk on 14 February 1992 in one Russian language copy.

The true copy is stored in the archive of the Government of the Republic of Belarus, which will send the contracting parties a certified copy of the agreement.

The document has been signed by representatives of Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine.

'Paradoxical' Outcome Seen

PM1602191392 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Vasiliy Kononenko, Nikolay Matukovskiy, and Mikhail Shimanskiy: "Only Eight Out of 11 CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Members Advocate United Armed Forces"]

[Text] The marathon 12-hour talks between CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] heads of state in Minsk has ended somewhat paradoxically in both form and content. They were meeting at this fifth round so as to set up united CIS Armed Forces. Yet they went away with an agreement that there would be no united army.

Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova firmly advocated having their own armies, while Belarus announced a two-year transitional period during which it would leave the common defense system and set up a national army. The other seven CIS participants are ready to maintain common armed forces. The second paradox is that in the short period between the first and fifth meetings some independent states have been squabbling between themselves. They have all experienced the danger of economic dissociation and should have been feeling their way toward the vitally important interests on which commonality is based. However, judging by the "nonprotocol," pointed way in which the important parties dispersed, one can conclude that the meeting ended without the agreement required for the Commonwealth's existence and normal functioning. Only three of the 11 heads of state taking part in the talks—L. Kravchuk, S. Shushkevich, and L. Ter-Petrosyan—spoke to journalists at a news conference.

About an hour before the end of the meeting the Azerbaijani president's press secretary spoke to journalists on his behalf. He reported that Mutalibov had signed documents and left the meeting, since the 366th regiment of the former Soviet Army in Stepanakert had launched a major offensive against the city of Khodzhaly. The press secretary called Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov's promise to send a commission of experts to the scene "stupid."

The journalists soon started buzzing when they learned of the sudden departure of N. Nazarbayev (urgent matters at home). B. Yeltsin, according to one of the generals, had flown to a meeting with the pilots who had flown off with their MiG's. Other participants in the meeting also left without giving any reason.

The Armenian leader, concerned about the report from Nagorno-Karabakh, stated that he had no information on the actions of the Stepanakert regiment, but immediately voiced an idea which, in our view, typifies not only the reasons for the deadlocked situation in the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict but the entire difficult process of establishing the CIS. "The Commonwealth does not have any mechanism for solving complex problems like Nagorno-Karabakh," Ter-Petrosyan said. "International deterrent forces are needed. In the context of the emerging disputes and problems in the CIS we can state that there are no analogous mechanisms for regulating its general activity as a whole. The decisions, both military and economic, adopted at the Minsk meeting may remain just wishful thinking...."

At the news conference Kravchuk stated that the session participants, apart from passing the decisions on the armed forces, had signed around 20 economic documents, including documents to coordinate interstate relations in the sphere of power generation, rail transport, and an agreement regulating relations in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation in 1992. A declaration was also adopted on observing the principles of cooperation within the Commonwealth. The Ukrainian president stated that this declaration is designed to regulate disputes arising in the event of the agreement's being broken. Without taking issue with the presidents, declarations and statements are documents without strict, mandatory principles. This, unfortunately, also directly applies to the most important problem which took up the bulk of the Minsk meeting—the fate of the Soviet Army.

Yes, they agreed not to see various contradictory views of the same question as constituting a tragedy, but as being a normal form of discourse between civilized people in a democratic society. And that in itself is a major achievement. Yes, they finally agreed that we would no longer have a "united, indestructible, and legendary" army. The mechanism relating to the nuclear button has been improved. Henceforth all talks between the presidents of the nuclear powers relating to nuclear missiles will be recorded by a "black box" for monitoring purposes. Agreement was reached on the fact that Marshal of Aviation Ye. Shaposhnikov, despite some complaints about him, will remain as commander in chief and will select two deputies—one for strategic forces and one for general-purpose forces—and a chief of the General Staff.

Judging by everything, in the future each sovereign CIS state will have its own national army. But how are we to divide up the common army today, using what rules? This is a fundamental question. The fact is that certain CIS states, without waiting for an approach acceptable to all, have started "privatizing" certain military units which are close at hand. It seems as though certain CIS members are not worried about dismembering a living organism blindfold. But does this still unified organism want to "quarter itself"? Remember the all-Army Officers' meeting, which categorically said it would save the Armed Forces! Who will save the Army from whom? That is something to consider....

At a 15 February news conference at Government House, Stanislav Shushkevich touched, in particular, on the "key issue" relating to the division of the former Union's property. As he put it, the meeting defined an approach which essentially consists of the following. The definition of each former republic's share of property—including military-complex property—should be determined on the basis of the size of the national income of each component of the former USSR. This scheme, Shushkevich said, could be amended to take account of many factors.

The overall tone of Shushkevich's news conference was optimistic: The CIS will survive! "We all have the same diseases, and we need to cure them together," the Belarussian leader said.

One would like to believe that the concept of the inevitability of "curing diseases together" has been taken on board by all the participants in the Minsk meeting. But will the path to a civilized agreement taken in the past by the European "seven" be a worthy example for our Commonwealth members?

PRAVDA Assesses Summit

PM1602225192 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 17 Feb 92 pp 1-2

[Report by special correspondents Oleg Stepanenko, Aleksandr Ulitenok, and Aleksandr Chernyak: "A Step Away From the Abyss. Our Special Correspondents Report From Minsk"]

[Text] For those covering the conference, this was probably one of the most dramatic moments. The auditorium, where hundreds of correspondents from different countries had been waiting for the leaders of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] states for many hours, was entered by the Azerbaijani president's press secretary, who announced that A. Mutalibov had been forced to leave the session and urgently fly out of Minsk. The reason was a sharp deterioration in the Nagorno-Karabakh situation.

By then we knew that the conference was proving difficult. The CIS leaders had immediately gotten "bogged down" in military problems. "Unfortunately, there is no concept"—P. Sadovskiy, chairman of a Belarussian Supreme Soviet commission, bitterly noted in a confidential discussion with PRAVDA correspondents. And he quoted L. Kravchuk's words—how can we start discussing 14 issues if we are not clear about what constitutes the common CIS Armed Forces, and what constitutes a republic's own forces? Nor did they define what constitutes the strategic forces. "Forgive me, but we have not clarified what constitutes the strategic forces," S. Shushkevich said to Marshal Ye. Shaposhnikov. And Kravchuk and V. Fokin announced that a large quantity of military hardware had recently been withdrawn from Ukraine and that large amounts of military units' property were being sold off....

In short, the situation is indeed worrying. And there had been numerous rumors and gloomy forecasts in our press and the world's press largely based on concrete facts and an analysis of the deteriorating situation in the CIS. All this heralded nothing good.

And, as if to confirm these worries, the cards bearing the names of the CIS state leaders started to disappear from the presidium table at the press center. Only three names were left. The meeting with the journalists was attended by Kravchuk, Ter-Petrosyan, and Shushkevich. The rest refused to take part in the press conference.

Was it a total failure?

"I can sincerely state that I had not hoped that the results would be so significant...I had been expecting a moderate step; it has turned out to be quite big"—those words, spoken at the news conference by Shushkevich after an introductory speech by Kravchuk (who also made a positive assessment of the conference results) would be repeated by the Belarussian leader the next day, 15 February, during his meeting with a large group of local and foreign journalists: "For me personally yesterday was a holiday...Yesterday we realized as never before that the CIS is a structure without which we just cannot survive today."

Life will make its own assessment of the results of the Minsk meeting and decide whether the leaders of the CIS states succeeded at least in some measure in halting the destructive processes which cover all spheres and aspects of our life—from the economy to morality. But assessing the results of the meeting today, we conclude that it would be the greatest mistake to be euphoric about it. The situation is too complex, alarming, and sometimes even dangerously threatening.

Whatever optimistic politicians may say, if we use everyday language, they are not bringing about a marriage process or the creation of a unified family, but a divorce process and the division of all and sundry. This process—agonizingly difficult even in a family breakup—is painfully unpredictable on what one could call a planetary scale. Several alarming facts were mentioned at both the summit, the news conference, and in behind-the-scenes conversations.

Urged on by the market, the mafia and the new entrepreneurs have infiltrated not only the economy—which they are destroying in accordance with every market law—but the military-technical sphere too. Military equipment from ships and submarines is being sold off. This is being done, as Kravchuk noted, "for personal gain, to earn money, to enrich certain structures, or to turn the equipment into dollars. And this is happening not only to the Navy, but to the Black Sea merchant fleet too." Ships with a total displacement of 186,000 tonnes have already been sold—and at scrap-metal prices. The Maksim Gorkiy and other ships are awaiting sale.

And however much people may talk about success in resolving military issues, however much they may refer to the need for their "own" armed forces in order to assert their sovereignty, neutrality, and other pieties, the essence remains the same—splitting up the Army along national lines. Only it will be almost immediate in Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan; and in Belarus after a two-year transitional period.

And however much Kravchuk may try to claim that the introduction of national currencies in certain republics is no bar to mutual economic relations and will not harm the interests of other ruble-zone states, the civilized European world has already concluded that a single monetary unit is a great advantage which makes possible the maximum economic integration.

The situation is particularly alarming in areas where the processes unleashed by the architects of perestroyka have led to internecine strife. Is the CIS capable of halting these processes? The Gorbachev government, as Ter-Petrosyan stressed, was unable to solve the Nagorno-Karabakh problem. "Now we have a kind of premonition that the CIS does not yet have any mechanism to resolve not only this problem but other similar problems too." The Armenian president does not rule out the possibility that it will be necessary to appeal to international organizations.

Yes, it is far harder to build than to destroy. Destruction we can manage on our own, but for building we need the help of others.

And yet there was a ray of hope at this Minsk meeting. Not only and not even so much because an unprecedented number of documents—two dozen—on military-political, economic, and international law questions were adopted, or because a number of other major plans have been or are being prepared for the next meeting in Kiev. The documents which were adopted are indisputably important. That is shown merely by their titles—declaration on the observance of cooperation principles within the CIS; agreement on the powers of the Commonwealth's top organs with regard to defense questions; agreement on social and legal guarantees for servicemen, persons discharged from military service, and their family members; decision on the CIS Joint Armed Forces High Command; agreements regulating Commonwealth states' relations in the sphere of trade and economic cooperation in 1992, and so forth.

What is even more important is that they really remove a number of acute contradictions and ensure a common approach to the resolution of highly acute problems. Thus, for instance, in the economic sphere obstacles to the conclusion of treaties and the fulfillment of interstate agreements on shipments of products have been removed, and measures have been defined to restore the economic ties between enterprises which had been destroyed by the market-sovereignty chaos.

In order to understand how notable the changes in the leaders' thinking have been, we would quote Shushkevich's words at his Saturday [15 February] news conference. "We cannot take hasty steps to realize our independence, because we are very closely bound up with the other structures of the former Soviet Union-...Now I will tell you the most important thing: It is possible that in the process of formulating this independence, in the process of acquiring rights independently, we may wish to reject some of the attributes of independence. That is, we will want to move toward closer integration."

No less characteristic was the Belarussian leader's statement on the problem of national currencies: "Consideration of all factors forces me to be restrained and to continue to strive to ensure that the single ruble zone remain in place...And only if we are stupid enough not to maintain the ruble zone will we have to make use of the proposals from those who advocate a separate currency."

Well, let's hope to God that the spirit of unification inspires the other leaders of the CIS states.

But it is too soon to be getting euphoric. It was no accident that Shushkevich said, in response to a question from correspondents about which issues would be examined this year:

"I think the issues will be economic, economic, and economic...."

Yes, military issues may be sorted out 20 March in Kiev. But it will be far harder to save from final destruction our bombed-out economy, which has been brought to its knees by the arbitrary market genie. For the time being, haphazard market processes leading to destruction and impoverishment are becoming more and more firmly entrenched. And, although the politicians may step back from the abyss, as long as they are under the thumb of today's economic reformers a threat will continue to hang over our society.

Divergence of Views Examined

LD1702150292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1210 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Vitality Gurov commentary]

[Text] In Minsk the leaders of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] member states signed on 14 February some 20 documents, which is a record of sorts. Experts and politologists believe, however, the summiteers have failed to solve the key problems and scheduled the decision making for 20 March when, meeting in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, they are to agree on the future of the Armed Forces that used to be strong and united and today are being torn apart with feud and by some republican leaders. In his commentary, Vitality Gurov had the following to say:

The leaders' assessment of the Minsk summit are, indicatively, opposite. President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine was not yet satisfied with the meeting while Stanislav Shushkevich, speaker of the Belarussian parliament, called 14 February a special day for himself and highly appreciated the results of the summit. He believes tendencies toward integration within the Commonwealth will grow in the future. For his part, Kazakhstan President Nazarbayev said he could not describe as satisfying the documents adopted at the Minsk meeting. In a television interview he voiced concern over the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

The controversy is easy to explain, for every part saw only its side of the matter and stood its own ground in Minsk. The Ukrainian leader, Kravchuk, is against the very idea of unified armed forces, believing that a single army would mean the recreation of a single center, which today controls the army. And what is next? Stanislav Shushkevich supports a neutral Belarussia, and he agreed with a two-year transitional period during the army problems could be solved and its divergence completed. President Nazarbayev, like his counterparts from six other republics including Russia, favours a strict delineation of functions among the strategic, including nuclear, force, a single conventional force and the national armies.

Yet it is evident that the idea of the CIS unified Armed Forces was buried on 14 February by presidents of Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova. And the proposals involved meant that the national armies in the common defense system as well as joint elaboration of the coming defense concept seems illusionary. Among the positive results, of course, the decision preserving a unified strategic force and its subordination to a limited number of leaders, to the council of heads of state and the commander in chief, Marshal Shaposhnikov. This system of control over the nuclear push button presupposes the adoption of collective decisions.

What future for the Commonwealth is suggested by the results of the summit in Minsk? The possible answer is in the words of President Nazarbayev, who said quote it is good we have the Commonwealth. I do my best to consolidate our Commonwealth since we have no other community to live in. I see a better outcome and which must be bloodless and non-confrontational, only consolidating our Commonwealth.

War, Army Issues Viewed

PM1802163992 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 1

[A. Kraynin report under the rubric "Army": "We Must Decisively Unite in Order To Go Our Separate Ways"]

[Text] Questions of war and the army had arisen so critically that the presidents were forced to devote the two days virtually entirely to these questions.

The "drill inspection" passed off without sensation. Ukraine, Moldova, and Azerbaijan, putting forward a united front, demanded the formation of their own Armed Forces; the eight other states decided to create joint Armed Forces under common command and control and a Council of Defense Ministers to handle strategic questions. After all, it is not now understood what the military doctrine of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces will be, what the budget will be, or what kind of reform will be carried out, and how. The presidents did not receive replies to these questions from Marshal of the Aviation Shaposhnikov.

Today it is clear that all the leaders are concerned by what in the old days used to be called the "political-morale situation of the troops," and are ready to grant officers and their families social and legal guarantees.

And the threat of an interstate war within the former Union was put back by a statement signed by all 11 member countries of the CIS. It says that all disputes should be decided by means of negotiations.

It should be said that of all the summits that have been held this was the most productive. Life has compelled the presidents to sign a number of agreements essential for avoiding economic and military catastrophe, in particular agreements "on a unified railroad area," on power, and so forth.

There was maybe one moment when Marshal of Aviation Shapashnikov, commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, felt uncomfortable—Ukrainian President Kravchuk demanded his replacement in fairly resolute terms. But this proposal did not meet with support. Although what happened—I refer to the flight of the six SU-24M.

Summing up the Minsk meeting, it can be said that it was successful: The centrifugal forces which are gathering momentum were successfuly brought within civilized bounds. Evidently the divorce will take place without blood and tears. We will be a long time parting, but there is no room for doubt that part we will.

Summit Inspires 'Degree of Hope'

PM1802123492 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 1

[Report by Colonel P. Chernenko and Captain 2d Rank O. Odnokolenko: "Agreements Have Been Signed. Will There Be Consensus in Action? Our Special Correspondents on the Results of the Minsk Meeting"]

[Text] Those who were pinning at least some hopes on the Minsk meeting of Commonwealth heads of state were proved right. Of course, not all the problems—and a good many disagreements have accumulated—were resolved, but it appears that a marked step forward was taken. It should be said that not many people had faith in even this outcome. The reasons for this included uncompromising remarks by state leaders and the information vacuum surrounding the working party that prepared for the meeting. It was later explained to representatives of the mass media: Agreement was being achieved with such difficulty and mutual understanding, especially in the initial period, was so fragile that a careless word leaked to the press could have ruined everything.

The Minsk meeting is history now. But it should not be too hastily classified as historic, although it did inspire a degree of hope for the future of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States]. The agreements and accords adopted—and there are 16 of them in all, not counting protocols of a commissioning nature on a number of military and economic problems—confirm this.

But let us return to the events of 14 February. We now know that the question of unified armed forces was not even discussed at the meeting of heads of state. Following the statement by Ukrainian Defense Minister Colonel General Konstantin Morozov on the creation of Ukraine's own army and the evident readiness of a number of other states to follow the same course, the problem went away of its own accord. Furthermore, military representatives of the Ukrainian delegation, at least prior to the start of the talks, were adhering quite firmly to the position of creating a national defense area, and were apparently not willing to compromise. But be that as it may, an accord was reached on the creation of Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces. They will include strategic forces and general-purpose forces. Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov was appointed CIS Joint Armed Forces commander in chief, and was instructed by 20 March, in time for the meeting of Commonwealth heads of state in Kiev, to submit candidacies for the posts of commanders of the strategic forces and the general-purpose forces, as well as a candidate for the post of chief of the CIS Joint Armed Forces General Staff.

True, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Belarus retained their own opinion on the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces. Belarus, in particular, which did not sign the agreement on general-purpose forces, plans to create its own army gradually, and is allowing two years for this. As Stanislav Shushkevich, chairman of the Belarus Supreme Soviet, stated at a news conference 15 February, this position is determined by the fact that Belarus will be a nuclear-free and neutral state.

The second most important military problem was the agreement on social and legal guarantees for servicemen, people discharged from military service, and their families. As you know, this problem has always been pressing, and recently, in the context of the republics' creation of national armies, it has become particularly acute. Servicemen, as the All-Army Officers' Assembly confirmed, insist on legal and social guarantees—the right to housing and pension provision, to a decent human life. Such guarantees have now been obtained, and have acquired the force of law.

As for the question of the formation of a single defense budget and the procedure for financing the Commonwealth Joint Armed Forces, according to a statement by Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk, an approach was found, in effect, to resolving this. But undoubtedly much still has to be sorted out, and work will continue in this sphere. Today, since two different positions have already emerged—some states are in favor of unified or Joint Armed Forces, others intend to create their own armies or have already done so—understandably their attitudes toward participation in the formation of the defense budget differ. Ukraine, again, intends to assign its share solely for the maintenance of the strategic forces, and will not give money for the maintenance of the general-purpose forces.

Agreement was also reached on the principles of relations among the CIS member states in the sphere of defense and security. Policy in this sphere, it was stated, will be pursued in a coordinated manner, taking into account the interests of all the Commonwealth countries. In a special statement the Commonwealth heads of state reaffirmed their desire not to permit the use or threat of force and to resolve all disputes through talks. This statement is encouraging, and opens up prospects for talks between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the problem of Nagorno-Karabakh, where blood is still being shed. Although, true, Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan expressed doubt that this statement will help to resolve the conflict.

Incidentally, about conflicts. Some satisfaction greeted Leonid Kravchuk's statement that Ukraine did not and does not lay claim to the entire Black Sea Fleet, but only to that part of it that is necessary to defend the republic's maritime borders. However, it should be recalled that something similar has been said before, but words and deeds diverged, as a result of which the "Black Sea confrontation" between Russia and Ukraine reached fever pitch at some points. Incidentally, during the concluding press conference L. Kravchuk himself, giving a general assessment of the results of the meeting, recalled that previous accords had also not appeared to be unconstructive, but that they were broken as soon as the high contracting parties went their separate ways. The president then expressed the fear that the same fate may lie in store for the Minsk meeting...

It is true that even the brief experience of the CIS' existence shows that the signatures of the heads of state on agreements are not enough in themselves. Consensus is also needed. And that can hardly be achieved without compromise. Nonetheless, summing up the results of work by the CIS heads of state in discussing defense questions, one can say that, despite substantially different positions, those results are considerable: Of the 13 documents prepared beforehand by the working party, nine were signed. The rest will be further worked on and examined. At the Kiev meeting. (Some of the documents on military issues are published in KRASNAYA ZVEZDA today. We will publish some in the next issue.)

The other documents adopted at the meeting must also be mentioned. First and foremost there is the statement of the heads of state on coordinating actions in the implementation of economic reform, the agreement on coordinating interstate relations in the sphere of electricity, the agreement on coordinating bodies for CIS railroad transportation... Even simply listing them allows you to judge the importance and significance of these documents for the future of the Commonwealth countries. The main thing now is that all the agreements and accords that were adopted should come into force.

As Russian President Boris Yeltsin said, summing up, a step forward, however small, was taken. It is important that more steps follow.

Shaposhnikov Holds 18 Feb News Conference

Views Armed Forces' Future

LD1802192292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1705 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The former Soviet Army may ultimately divide along national or state lines. The agreement setting up the unified armed forces concluded on 14 February in Minsk may, with time, develop into a defensive alliance like the Warsaw Pact or NATO. That is what Air Marshal Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the unified armed forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], thinks.

Speaking today at a news conference in Moscow, he said that the Minsk agreement had been signed by eight states, without Azerbaijan, Ukraine, and Moldova. Belarus signed it for a transitional period of unspecified length. In the marshal's view, it is a probably approximately three years.

Shaposhnikov rejected rumors to the effect that active preparations are taking place at the level of the Russian Government or the High Command to create a Russian Army, or that candidates for the post of defense minister are being considered. "The president of Russia is in no hurry to set up a national defense ministry and armed forces," he noted. Such a step might provide grounds for spurring similar processes in other CIS states. According to him, that is still premature.

Shaposhnikov said that he has no information about a transfer alleged to have taken place of weapons and combat equipment from the army to the Georgian National Guard. The commander in chief also refuted rumors about army detachments being involved in the armed conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan. He confirmed the firmness of his position on the noninvolvement of the troops in armed conflicts between states of the CIS. If peace is not achieved by political means in the Transcaucasus, he said, then all the units of the unified armed forces deployed there will be withdrawn outside the confict zone. The marshal announced that he is "on the verge of making a decision" on the withdrawal of the 366th regiment which is deployed in Nagorno-Karabakh. In addition, Shaposhnikov added, the partial withdrawal of military sub-detchments from the Chechen Republic has begun insofar as the government of that republic is unable to ensure the necessary security for the CIS servicemen.

Replying to a question about the location of the six military aircraft which flew from the Ukraine to Russia on the day of the summit meeting in Minsk, Shaposhnikov said that they are now "at the place to which they flew—at one of the military aerodromes near Smolensk." The marshal "does not intend to hand their crews over to a tribunal because the situation still has to be sorted out." According to Shaposhnikov the further fate of the aircraft will be decided at talks he will have with a representative of the Ukrainian side planned for today.

Remarks on Ukrainian Moves

LD1902110492 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Ukraine in effect has created its own armed forces, and talks are underway on creating armed forces in Moldova and Azerbaijan, it was stated on 18 February at a news conference by Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces. He refuted reports that the first division of strategic long-range bombers, belonging to the united strategic forces and stationed on the territory of Ukraine, had switched to the jurisdiction of that state.

Regarding the conflicts in the Transcaucasus, Shaposhnikov stated: If peace is not achieved in the Transcaucasus, and primarily in Karabakh, we will withdraw all armed forces units from there. He said that troops already were being withdrawn from the Chechen Republic. I cannot stand it when our troops in Chechnya are subjected to attacks by extremists, Shaposhnikov stated, and the withdrawal of troops from Chechnya is my personal decision.

Examines Aircraft Incident

LD1802224192 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The driver of any vehicle, when he receives his license, confirms to the test official that he understands that an automobile is very dangerous. This does not seem to extend to pilots.

On the night of 13 February, when the presidents were due to assemble in Minsk, six SU-24 frontline bombers flew from Ukraine to Russia with the unit's banner. As a result, the hijackers have been transferred to new places of service.

Today's report that aircraft capable of carrying cruise missiles and nuclear bombs are going over to Ukraine with their crews proves that personnel in the units understood the signal from Moscow about the six other crews going unpunished; this may serve as a spur for the army to disintegrate. [video shows Shaposhnikov addressing news conference]

[Begin Shaposhnikov recording] The aircraft are currently at the location to which they flew, at one of the military airports near Smolensk. That is the first thing. The second thing is that the pilots will remain here. Regarding the aircraft, today I will talk about the aircraft with the commander of one of the aviation formations, who was a comander there in Ukraine. [end recording]

[Correspondent G. Sedov] This question had been prepared in advance by many correspondents and that is why we began with the answer to it. But in general, the news conference was very lively. There was a very wide range of questions and topics—from the withdrawal of our troops from Europe and the problems of a joint defense of space along with the Americans to the personal liking of Commander in Chief Shaposhnikov for the president of one state or another in the Commonwealth. In order to dot all the i's, Yegeniy Ivanovich replied that he previously had excellent relations with Kravchuk and that relations were now good. This was my question:

[Begin recording] [Sedov] Have there been cases in Karabakh of our army units taking part in the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict?

[Shaposhnikov] During my time in the leadership of the armed forces and earlier at the Ministry of Defense, I personally did not —nor did my subordinates—issue a single order for our armed forces to participate in any ethnic conflicts. From this I draw the conclusion that there have been no such cases. [end recording]

Next Summit Announced

OW1802202692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1922 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The next CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] summit in Kiev, set for March 20, will discuss shortening the minimum length of service that entitles commissioned officers for pension from 25 years to 20 years, said Marshal Shaposhnikov, commander-in-chief of the CIS military, at a Tuesday [18 February] press conference in Moscow. According to him, a shorter length of service will help reduce the military.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said that "national and republican armies will probably be set up." This, said the marshal, should be made "in a civilized fashion."

Comments on Military Withdrawal

OW1802211392 Moscow BALTFAX in English 2017 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Commander-in-Chief of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces, Marshal Shaposhnikov told a news conference in Moscow February 18 that "both Russia and the Baltics will pay for the withdrawal of troops from the Baltics". He said the withdrawal should not be carried out hastily, since there are still no social guarantees for soldiers and officers stationed in the Baltics.

Marshal Shaposhnikov also commented on a statement by head of the Lithuanian government Vytautas Landsbergis who a few days ago spoke in favor of the withdrawal from the Kaliningrad region of Russia as well. Landsbergis made this statement in Vilnius February 16 at the solemn meeting dedicated to the 74th anniversary of Lithuania's independence. Shaposhnikov pointed out that the withdrawal of troops from the Kaliningrad region is a matter of Russia and "nobody can dictate terms to us".

Views Situation in Transcaucasus

LD1802163192

[Editorial Report] Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian at 1418 GMT on 18 February carries a five-minute studio conversation in which a correspondent reports on a news conference in Moscow today by Marshal Shaposhnikov, Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] commander in chief. Reception is poor.

The correspondent says that one of the subjects that came up at the news conference concerned the role of CIS troops in the Nagorno- Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, and also the reports that the Turkish army has brought troops up to the Armenian border. He plays the following recording of Shaposhnikov's replies:

"If we don't achieve peace by political means in the Transcaucasus, and in Nagorno-Karabakh, my position will consist in withdrawing all military units from there, because whether you like it or not, there is a prospect that they could be drawn into this conflict. At present the 366th Regiment is on the territory of Karabakh, in Stepanakert, and I have already been forced to state that if just one shell falls on the territory of this regiment, fire will be returned, in the direction from which the shells come.

"I've explained that I am now on the verge of making a decision to withdraw all armed units from that region, if some agreement is not reached by peaceful means on a cease-fire. And in general terms, I don't understand the standpoint of the leaders of both sides, when this constant increase in armed forces is underway in that region, when an Azerbaijani army is being created, and when Armenia has to reply in similar terms, and so on. I think it is, perhaps, time for Mutalibov and Ter-Petrosyan to come to Karabakh, and live there, if only for a week together, walk around in public view, and perhaps reach agreement, and then, maybe, after that this whole affair will end.

"As concerns the Turkish Third Field Army. The Third Field Army is currently carrying out regular planned exercises in Turkey. They are called Kis-92 — Winter-92— and these exercises are held every year. I don't think the Turkish leadership is so rash as to link this with the conflict that is taking place in the Transcaucasus. And so, this is an ordinary, planned event."

Remarks on Sales Charges

OW1802180592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The 336th regiment did not participate in the fighting near Stepanakert, the capital of Nagorno-Karabakh, said Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] commander-in-chief, at a Tuesday [18 February] press-conference in Moscow. He said that the regiment command had been instructed not to be involved in the fighting, whatever the circumstances.

Shaposhnikov spoke in favor of the withdrawal of all CIS troops from Transcaucasia.

He said he would personally investigate the unauthorized flying of 6 bombers from western Ukraine to Smolensk. "The pilots will stay here. I'm not planning to court-martial them. What to do with the planes will be decided at the negotiations,"he said to IF [INTERFAX].

On Monday [17 February] Ukrainian President Kravchuk urged Yeltsin to have the pilots extradited and the planes returned. Shaposhnikov emphasized that Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev had allowed the former Union defense ministry to be involved in commercial activities. "We sold the written-off property to raise money to build civilian factories—in the Crimea, among other places," he said.

Shaposhnikov questioned the report that 49 submarines and cruisers had been sold off. Ukrainian President Kravchuk accused Shaposhnikov in Minsk of selling military property. The CIS commander-in-chief said that troop pullout from Checheno-Ingushetia that is starting now is dictated by his personal concern over the commissioned officers and their families because their safety in the republic is not guaranteed. "We had a corresponding agreement with General Dudayev," he said.

Shaposhnikov does not believe that Russia should hurry to set up its own defense ministry—a view shared by Russian President Yeltsin, he said.

Military

Army Officers' Council Addresses Minsk Summit

LD1402183892 Moscow TASS in English 1813 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By BELTA correspondent - TASS]

[Text] Minsk February 14 TASS—Chairman of the All-Army Officers Assembly's Coordination Council Aleksandr Mochaykin has passed over to BELTA-TASS correspondents accredited to the Minsk summit the text of an address of the All-Army Officers' Assembly to the Minsk meeting participants.

As is known, the assembly has called for the preservation of the single system of security, the single military strategic space and the single system of the Armed Forces' management.

The address suggests canceling or postponing the adoption by some countries of unilateral measures in the sphere of military building, running counter to the Minsk statement on the creation of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the Alma-Ata declaration, which confirmed the need to preserve the common military strategic space under the single command.

Otherwise, the growing gap between political realities and legislation leads to the escalation of inter-ethnic conflicts, leaving thousands of servicemen and members of their families without citizenship, housing and prospects for normal life.

"We do not want to pay for actions of politicians with blood of innocent people and sufferings of our families deprived of any rights," says the address.

The document also called on the state heads to:

—Sign the proposed package of agreements on military issues with due account of changes and additions submitted by the coordination council,

—Suspend the reduction, change of location and, especially, the withdrawal of troops from Germany, Poland and the Baltics until structures and mechanisms to provide for the fulfilment of treaties and agreements on the implementation of the program of social and legal protection of servicemen are created,

—Prevent inadequate reduction of the military scientific potential in order not to weaken the defenceability of the Commonwealth.

The address suggested that the Commonwealth state heads call on their citizens to honestly fulfill their service duty no matter on which territory they are stationed.

Passing over the text of the address to correspondents, Mochaykin noted the Coordination Council does not express the interests of any party and it is not a party itself. The council does not seek to interfere in the decision on the power system in the independent states. It calls for the revival in the peoples and the Army of patriotism, honor and dignity and respect to the feat of arms.

The Coordination Council chairman stressed the Council preserves the right to consider the results of the current Minsk meeting at the All-Army Officers' Assembly and take its decisions on these results.

Azerbaijan Troops Transfer Agreement Planned

LD1902103192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0900 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] It is planned to prepare an agreement in the coming days between the commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces and Azerbaijan on transferring general purpose units and formations to the jurisdiction of the Republic. An accord on this was reached at a meeting between Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov and Colonel-General Boris Gromov, representative of the commander in chief of the CIS Armed Forces, and Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy. The Azerbaijani president's press service reported today that during the meeting there also was a discussion of issues connected with preparing documents on transferring part of the forces and systems of the Caspian flotilla to the jurisdiction of the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Draft Address to CIS Servicemen Reported

OW1402170392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1526 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] After the leaders of Commonwealth states have finished their discussion of military matters in Minsk, they are going to make an address to CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] servicemen.

Its draft, one and a half pages long, reads, in particular:

"Servicemen of the Commonwealth of Independent States, defenders of your native land, and of the freedom, sovereignty, and peaceful labor of the fraternal peoples!

"Officers and soldiers—all servicemen in the Armed Forces, regardless of their arm of service, their military specialization, or their nationality, are defenders of the interests of all the independent nations and of their security. You have sworn allegiance to your people. Be loyal to your oath. You must respect and strictly abide by the laws of those Commonwealth states on whose territory you are serving."

The Council of the Commonwealth Heads of State, the draft stresses, will do everything within its power to mitigate the effects of the economic crisis on servicemen and provide them with adequate legal protection and social security.

Strategic Air Division Goes Over to Ukraine

LD1702174392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By UKRINFORM correspondent Nikolay Zayka]

[Text] Uzen (Kievskaya Oblast), 17 Feb—The 1st Strategic Air Force Division in the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] strategic forces, which is deployed here, today renounced its subordination to the center and has gone over to Ukrainian jurisdiction. On the orders of the strategic air force commander, Colonel General Igor Kalugin, the division commander, Major General Mikhail Bashkirov was removed from his post with subsequent dismissal from the Armed Forces. This decision was abrogated by the order of the Ukrainian minister of defense on instruction from President Leonid Kravchuk. Gen. Kalugin's arrival in Uzen is expected tomorrow.

Ukrainian Official Comments

LD1802221492 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Today all the world's news agencies are trying to get as much information as possible about the crews of the 21 long-range strategic aviation bombers which, according to TASS, have declared that they have gone over to Ukrainian jurisdiction. REUTER writes that the 21 aircraft are fitted with equipment for cruise missile strikes and also for dropping nuclear bombs.

In order to clarify the true state of affairs, we got through on the telephone to Georgiy Vladmirovich Zhivitsa, chief of the Ukrainian General Staff. He said that in spite of the fact that the formation in Uzen had really sworn allegiance to Ukraine, there was no resubordination.

Anatoliy Alekseyevich Proskurin, chief of staff of long-range aviation, in reply to our telephoned question, confirmed that the division stationed in Uzen—or to be more precise the personnel of a tanker aircraft regiment and some personnel at divisional headquarters—had taken the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine. Regarding the existing fears about control over the nuclear button, Proskurin said: The nuclear button is in reliable hands. We took these measures beforehand.

An agreement was also reached through which all the personnel of the division would come under Ukrainian jurisdiction but would carry out their functions and functional duties in subordination to its direct superiors in the army and the command of long-range aviation.

Military To Investigate

OW1802174892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Col.-Gen. Igor Kalugin, commander of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] long-range air force, arrives in Uzen (Kiev region) on Tuesday [18 February] to look into the situation with the oath of allegiance in the local long-range air force division of the Commonwealth's strategic forces. Reports from Kiev say that on Monday [17 Februay] the division moved out of Moscow's control and under Ukraine's jurisdiction, since the absolute majority of the personnel pledged allegiance to Ukraine. The Moscow long-range air force HQ says nearly 50% of the division's servicemen, including a regiment of flying tanks [as received] and part of the combat regiment, took the oath of allegiance.

The division commander is believed to be concerned about the personnel's future and trying to win the sympathy of the local authorities. According to reports from Kiev, Gen. Kalugin replaced the division commander but the Ukrainian Defense Minister restored the latter to his post. The Ukrainian Defense Ministry's press center says the Vinnitsa garrison and cadets of the Kiev Naval Academy have, too, pledged allegiance to the Ukrainian people. By agreement with the Main Naval Headquarters of the former USSR most academy graduates will be sent to serve in the fleets of various Commonwealth member countries. As of July 1, 1995 the Kiev Naval Academy will cease existing: its premises will be offered to the Kievo-Mogilyanskaya academy. The only naval school in the CIS armed forces is expected to be situated in Sevastopol.

6 Crews Fly to Belarus Without Permission

LD1402133392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1225 GMT 14 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 14 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Six crews flying "SU" combat planes last night flew without orders from a military airfield near Starokonstantinov, in Ukraine's Khmelnitskaya Oblast, and touched down on a Belarussian airfield.

An ITAR-TASS correspondent was told at CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Air Force General Staff Headquarters today that the planes did not have their basic load of ammunition but that the pilots took away the regimental banner. The pilots were taken from Belarus to Chkalovskiy airfield, near Moscow.

Pilots in many air force regiments deployed in Ukraine stated in January that they did not wish to take the Ukrainian oath and objected to nationalizing the Army. There were also warnings that some pilots would fly to Russia on their own accord. [Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian at 1300 GMT on 14 February notes that the planes involved are SU-24's.]

Black Sea Commander Removes Marine Commander

LD1502151892 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] Upon the order of the chief commander of the Black Sea Naval Fleet, Kasatonov, commander of one of the battalions of the Marine Corps, Major Oleksandr Golobrodov, was removed from his post. The personnel of the battalion commanded by Major (?Golobrodov) refused to swear allegiance to the Commonwealth of Independent States.

Chernavin Remarks on Caspian Fleet's Future

LD1902124992 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1055 GMT 19 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Anar Kadirli]

[Text] Baku, 19 February (TASS)—Admiral Vladimir Chernavin, commander of the CIS Navy, described his stay in the capital of Azerbaijan as the start of the talks process with the republic's leaders on the future of the Caspian Fleet. In an interview with an AZERINFORM correspondent he stated that a mechanism is to be worked out for the continued existence of the Navy in the Caspian Sea.

The admiral expressed agreement with the intention of Azerbaijan to set up a naval structure in its armed forces relying on the Caspian Fleet as its basis. "We are ready to be involved and to help the republic in this difficult matter. But there are many rocks below the water which will have to be avoided. In resolving the problems we will have to steer a course which avoids ruining and destroying what has been created over many years but which, on the contrary, builds on it taking into consideration the new conditions relevant to the contemporary situation," stressed the commander.

According to Vladimir Chernavin a meeting with Ayaz Mutalibov, the president of Azerbaijan, the leadership of the Ministry of Defense of the republic and the Caspian Fleet command which took place late on Tuesday [18 February] evening reached an accord on setting up special commissions representing the interests of the Navy of the CIS and Azerbaijan. Their tasks include preparing specific proposals defining the status of the Caspian Fleet.

International Affairs

Kozyrev, Baker Address News Conference

LD1802163492 Moscow TASS in English 1521 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Peskov and Andrey Surzhanskiy]

[Text] Moscow February 18 TASS—Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and U.S. Secretary of State James Baker described the Russian-U.S. two-day talks in Moscow as "interesting" and "very useful."

Addressing the joint news conference upon the completion of the talks today, the two said meetings in Moscow concentrated on coordinating moves to implement the accords to reduce strategic offensive armaments, which were reached by the sides.

According to Kozyrev, the sides agreed to conduct matters in this issue so as to avoid protracted talks as was the case in the past. "We will move at the maximum possible pace using to this end meetings at the level of foreign ministers so that the presidents could sign final documents on slashing nuclear armaments already by this summer when the next Russian-American summit is planned to be held," Kozyrev said. He noted his next meeting with Baker would take place in the first half of March.

In Kozyrev's view, the possibility of rapid decision-making on a drastic reduction in armaments has emerged thanks to "the new atmopshere in relations between the two countries," which was fostered in Camp David. At this stage, the political issues of trimming nuclear armaments have been solved and purely technical problems remain to be tackled, Kozyrev noted. He pointed to the fact that the gap in figures of weapons subject to reduction proposed by the sides is very narrow.

Baker agreed that the sides' positions on the numerical reduction in armaments were being brought increasingly closer. What is all- important is that the levels of the remaining nuclear weapons will be significantly lower than was envisaged by the treaty on strategic offensive armaments, he said.

On Yeltsin's statement regarding retargeting Russian nuclear missiles, Baker said he understands the political importance of this statement and supports its spirit. In practical terms, however, this issue has several technical hitches, specifically regarding exercising control.

On his meeting today with acting head of the Georgian Government Tengiz Sigua, Baker said this does not mean the recognition of the republic's present leadership. He said Georgia is the only republic of the former Soviet Union for the present which he did not visit. Therefore, it is important that the people of Georgia, whose independence is recognised by the United States, understand that the U.S. does not intend to discriminate against them.

Baker Discusses Georgia

OW1802190192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1525 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At a news conference today (February 18) U.S. Secretary of State James Baker said the fact that he had had a meeting with the Prime Minister of Georgia's provisional government, Mr. Tengiz Sigua, did not mean that the U.S. had changed its policy towards Georgia or had de facto recognised the putsch carried out in the republic. Mr. Baker repeated the official American assessment of the events in Georgia, which resulted in the overthrow of the "democratically elected president of Georgia whose policy could not, of course, have been described as entirely democratic."

Mr. Baker remarked, however, that his country had recognised Georgia's political independence quite a long time ago.

He said Georgia was the only republic in the former USSR which was receiving no humanitarian aid from the USA within the framework of the Hope programme. This might be misconstrued by ordinary Georgians as a kind of discrimination against their republic, Mr. Baker said. It was to assure Mr. Sigua that this was not the case that he decided to see the Georgian premier. The Secretary of State gave to understand that the USA might start giving aid to Georgia as well.

Talks Conclude

LD1802220192 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1600 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Report by observer Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] The final Moscow leg of U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's tour of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] came to an end today in Moscow. Our observer Andrey Ptashnikov reports.

[Ptashnikov] The whole of the first half of the day was spent at the negotiating table with Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev. First, I should point out that these talks lasted much longer than previously planned. What might this suggest? Well, first and foremost, that the range of questions was broad; but second, certainly, that these questions are complicated enough.

After the talks ended, Baker and Kozyrev went out to meet journalists, and answered their questions for 50 minutes. From this improvised news conference, it became clear that the sides mainly discussed questions regarding reciprocal reduction of their nuclear arsenals; that is, they continued the discussions on this theme which began two and a half weeks ago at Camp David between Russian President Yeltsin and U.S. President Bush. In addition, they continued discussions which were begun yesterday in Moscow between Yeltsin and U.S. Secretary of State Baker.

Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev described today's conversation as very good and rich in content. Baker went even further— he said that the conversation that took place had been very, very good.

Well what was so good? The main thing is that the sides agreed to proceed in the sphere of reducing nuclear weapons without drawn-out full-scale talks as had been the case before, but efficiently, through contacts at ministerial level. And so, it became clear that the next contact of this kind—I mean talks between Baker and Kozyrev—is planned for March this year.

Much time during today's talks was devoted to the problem of numerical or quantitative indicators in the field of strategic weapons. To put it more simply, how many nuclear warheads we should keep and how many they should keep. Also discussed was the proposal put forward by Russian President Yeltsin on retargeting our own and their strategic missiles—that is, those missiles that are aimed at our and their cities. The talks also covered the creation of an international early warning center for nuclear attack, whatever country decides to take this senseless step. Baker again emphasized the U.S. readiness to offer help in destroying already existing reserves of nuclear and chemical weapons and in their transportation and storage.

After the talks between Baker and Kozyrev and their joint news conference, another event took place that seemed unexpected to many. I am referring to the unplanned meeting between the U.S. secretary of state and Sigua, acting prime minister of Georgia. Incidentally, Baker was asked at the news conference whether this means U.S. recognition of the new Georgian authorities, and Baker answered that it is only an indicator of the fact that there is no discrimination toward the Georgian people on the part of the United States.

With this meeting with Sigua, acting prime minister of Georgia, the U.S. secretary of state's visit to Moscow and the CIS in general came to an end. Toward evening, James Baker departed from Moscow.

Yeltsin, CSFR's Calfa Meet in Moscow 18 Feb

LD1802182292 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1655 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—Bilateral relations and economic and trade cooperation were discussed today during the meeting in the Kremlin between Russian President Boris Yeltsin and CSFR Prime Minister Marian Calfa.

As Dmitriy Ryurikov, an aide to the president of Russia, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that both sides expressed views on possible new forms of such cooperation. These proposals were received with interest and will be studied by experts.

Boris Yeltsin conveyed to CSFR President Vaclav Havel an invitation to pay an official visit to Russia. According to the aide to the Russian president, a full Russian-Czechoslovak treaty and agreements on a broad range of issues of bilateral relations could be signed in the course of this visit.

It was noted during the meeting that cooperation between both countries has good prospects. The conversation passed in a very friendly and warm atmosphere, noted Dmitriy Ryurikov in conclusion.

Participation in Privatization Urged

LD1802201192 Prague CSTK in English 1947 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow Feb 18 (CSTK correspondent)—Russian President Boris Yeltsin considers it possible for Czechoslovakia to have part of Russia's debt repaid by participating in the privatisation of Russian enterprises, Czechoslovak Premier Marian Calfa told CSTK after meeting Yeltsin today. In reaction to Czechoslovakia's demand that Russia should speed up its oil supplies this year, Yeltsin pointed out that the production had dropped by 15 percent in January. He promised, however, to consider shortening the delivery term to about the first nine months of 1992. Czechoslovakia has raised a demand that the 7.5 million tonnes of Russian oil contracted for 1992 be delivered in the first half of the year. In the meeting with Calfa, Yeltsin conveyed an official invitation for Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel to visit Moscow. During the visit the two presidents should sign the Czechoslovak-Russian friendship treaty initialled today.

Kozyrev, CSFR's Dienstbier Sign Treaty

LD1802175992 Prague CSTK in English 1711 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow 18 Feb (CSTK)—The foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia and Russia, Jiri Dienstbier and Andrey Kozyrev, today initialled the first treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Its text is based on the treaty between Czechoslovakia and the former Soviet Union initialled last October but never signed.

Speaking with CSTK, Kozyrev underlined that part of the treaty which calls the 1968 Soviet-led invasion of Czechoslovakia (aimed at crushing the Prague Spring reform period) an act of violence on the part of the former Soviet Union.

Dienstbier said the treaty is a fullstop after relations between two totalitarian regimes and also the beginning of completely new relations between the two countries.

The treaty should be signed by the presidents of Czechoslovakia and Russia, Vaclav Havel and Boris Yeltsin, during Havel's visit to Moscow expected in March.

Members of the Czechoslovak delegation met today for talks with representatives of the Russian government headed by First Vice Premier Gennadiy Burbulis, for talks mainly on the former Soviet Union's debt towards Czechoslovakia (over $5,000 million), the mechanism of trade relations and oil supplies. Also discussed were "triangular" operations which should enable Czechoslovakia, Poland and Hungary to supply the countries of the former Soviet Union with goods for credits provided by the European Community.

Czechoslovakia has proposed that the Russian Federation should take over guarantees for the repayment of all debts incurred by the former Soviet Union. Burbulis said Russia does not disclaim the possibility of guaranteeing the debts.

The problem should be dealt with by a group of experts led by the two countries' deputy finance ministers.

As regards the damage caused by the more than 20-year stay of the Soviet Army on Czechoslovak territory (between August 1968 and June 1991), Czechoslovak Minister-Chairman of the Federal Committee for the Environment Josef Vavrousek said the Czechoslovak side proposes auction sales of the former Soviet Army's property. The proceeds will go to a special account controlled also by the Russian side. The account would be used to cover Czechoslovak claims linked to the stay of Soviet forces on its territory.

Burbulis said that a special group of experts has been set up at the Russian government to solve problems linked to the stay of Soviet forces on the territory of former Soviet satellites.

Treaty 'Act of Repentance' for 1968

OW1802183692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A Russo-Czechoslovak treaty of friendship and cooperation was initialed in Moscow on Tuesday [18 February]. That crowned a nearly 3-hour meeting of the two delegations led by Russia's First Deputy Premier Gennadiy Burbulis and Czechoslovakia's Premier Marian Calfa.

Commenting on the new document, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev said that "for the first time ever the two sides gave an honest interpretation of the 1968 events in Czechoslovakia, where the USSR and its former Warsaw Treaty allies used force against the independent Czechoslovak state." The minister described it as "an act of repentance" for the totalitarian past.

His Czechoslovak colleague Jiri Dienstbier said, for his part, that the new treaty not only marked the end of two totalitarian regimes but also turned a new page in the history of two democratic countries.

[Moscow TASS in English at 1645 GMT on 18 February in a similar report adds: "The talks between Burbulis and Calfa were quite tense especially in part concerning the former Soviet Union's debt to Czechoslovakia and mutual supplies."]

Environmental Damage Compensation Sought

LD1802224492 Prague CSTK in English 2111 GMT 18 Feb 92

[text] Moscow Feb 18 (CSTK correspondent)—No agreement was reached on the amount of compensation to be paid by the Russians for environmental damage caused by the Soviet Army's 23-year occupation in talks today between Josef Vavrousek, Czechoslovak environment minister, and his Russian counterpart.

Russian officials, however, did promise to make written comments on the Czechoslovak proposal, Vavrousek told a news conference here.

Discussions on the issue between the Czechoslovak and Soviet Governments first began in the framework of negotiations on the pullout of 73,500 Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia, the last of which left the country in June 1991.

According to Vavrousek, Czechoslovakia estimates damage to the health and lives of its citizens at roughly 40 million crowns (1.3 million USD) and property damage at approximately 200 million crowns (6.7 million USD).

Another several thousands of millions of crowns would be necessary to compensate for the environmental disasters that were caused by Soviet soldiers, he said. [Moscow INTERFAX in English at 1922 GMT on 18 February in a similar report adds: "Experts from the two countries intend to discuss property disputes connected with the already concluded Soviet military withdrawal from Czechoslovakia. The Czechoslovak Government suggest auctioning off the property left behind: if the money thereby raised exceeds the sum due to Czechoslovakia as ecological compensation, the surplus can be rechanneled into social grants for the servicemen pulled out from Czechoslovakia."]

Calfa Departs

LD1802225492 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1930 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] We attach very great significance to relations with the Russian Federation, said Marian Calfa, prime minister of the CSFR Government, at a news conference held in Moscow. He has been in Moscow on a brief working visit. The mechanism for bilateral trade and economic relations for 1992 was discussed, including oil supplies from Russia to the CSFR. Within the framework of drafting a new economic agreement between the Russian Federation and the CSFR, the sides reached an accord on the creation of a joint working group. The first results of its activities will be presented at the end of February. Marian Calfa, and the delegation he headed, left Moscow after the news conference.

Kozyrev Remarks on Plans for Georgian Ties

LD1602180192 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 2045 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section]

[Text] Moscow—Russia will be ready to establish diplomatic relations with Georgia only after the conflict in South Ossetia—Shida Kartli is settled.

This was the statement of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev made during the talks with Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia, Tedo Dzhaparidze. Kozyrev pointed out that Russia will resolutely oppose any changes of the existing border of ex-USSR Republics. The ministers reached an agreement concerning the prompt meeting between Russian and Georgian ministers of foreign affairs who are to discuss various issues of mutual interest.

Gaydar, Spain's Ordonez Review Credits

LD1802215892 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1514 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladimir Shekhovtsov]

[Text] Madrid, 18 Feb—Yegor Gaydar, Deputy Chairman of the government, Minister of the Economy and Finance of the Russian Federation, today held a meeting with Francisco Fernandez Ordonez, Spanish minister of foreign affairs.

At the meeting, matters of bilateral relations were discussed, prospects for further deepening and developing cooperation between Spain and Russia were mapped out, and there was an exchange of views on a number of international problems.

At the end of the meeting, Fernandez Ordonez, commented that Russia is the "heir" to all Soviet-Spanish agreements signed earlier, in particular concerning credits to the value of $1.5 billion earmarked for the former USSR.

Gaydar: Bulgarian Ties of 'Mutual Interests'

LD1602123292 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1600 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Text] Here, in Moscow, a protocol has been signed on trade and economic links between Russia and Bulgaria for 1992. As the Russian vice premier, Yegor Gaydar, has said in an interview with the news agency ITAR-TASS, now bilateral ties rest on mutual interests rather than on political consideration. Russia will get traditional imports, tobacco included, from Bulgaria.

Official on Ukraine's Stand on Succession

OW1302160992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1442 GMT 13 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "If the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry wants to enter into polemics with the entire world community, it should do accordingly, not send a note to the Russian Foreign Ministry said Fyodor Shelov-Kovedyayev, Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister, in an exclusive interview for IF [INTERFAX] in comments on the Ukrainian Foreign Ministry's note dated January 24.

The note outlines Ukraine's stand: that not only Russia, but all the former Soviet republics, are successors to the USSR. But Russia does not deny it, F. Shelov-Kovedyayev pointed out.

However Ukraine is categorically opposed to the idea that Russia became the continuer of the USSR. According to F. Shelov-Kovedyayev, Russia did not proclaim itself as the continuer of the former USSR: the world recognized it as such.

"It's a model suggested by the world community, initiated by it. The world community made this choice, and we agreed with it," F. Shelov-Kovedyayev stressed. Under the circumstancee to send a note to Russia's Foreign Ministry "was not a very good idea", said Russia's First Deputy Foreign Minister.

F. Shelov-Kovedyayev said that he ("as a person, not as a politician") deplored the recent appeal to the world's financial circles made by Vitold Fokin, then Ukraine's Prime Minister. He called for suspending Russia's financial rights to the former USSR's property till its division between successor states.

Evidently Ukraine underestimated the danger to itself stemming from that appeal, said F. Shelov-Kovedyayev. "Our creditors, leading members of the world community, want us to service the former USSR's debts in solidarity," he pointed out. As for Ukraine, it suggests that it will either deal with the creditors on its own, or delay solution to this problem till the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries settle this affairs between themselves", said F. Sahelov-Kovedyayev. He believes, he said, that this conflicts with Ukraine's own interests. He added however that he has no intention of criticising Ukraine for its stand. Neither does he wish to teach the Ukrainian leadership.

Foreign Aid 'Will Bring Russia to Its Knees'

PM1802144192 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Feb 92 p 2

[Article by correspondent I. Alekseyenko: "Is Humanitarian Aid Humane? Gift Horse Shows Its Teeth"]

[Excerpt] Chita—[passage omitted] I hear and read impassive arguments about how much the West will lavish on us in the form of humanitarian aid and when, and my heart is torn. Once again, the old question—Is it easier to give or to ask?—torments me.

The president and the Russian Government have unequivocally decided for themselves: they have stopped giving and now they only ask. Persistently, outwardly calmly, and for all of us at once. And the West has apparently responded. A two-day conference on coordinating humanitarian aid to the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] republics, in which 47 countries took part, came to a close in Washington recently. The first loaded transport plane is due to arrive 10 February. Our problems were discussed in a constructive manner and specific decisions were made. The only problem is that our own representatives did not take part. It was simply felt possible not to invite them. Dealing with the vitally important problems of the former Soviet Union behind its back is now the international norm. A patient's illness is not discussed at his bedside. But are our affairs really in such a bad way? Is there not another political intrigue lurking behind some people's cries for aid and other people's gracious consent to give it?

However, the reality is that we have no hope of economic and social revival without substantial foreign aid—or so they would have us believe. We have apparently fallen into a hole and a ladder dropped from above provides the easiest escape from it. We can just see the tip of it. Will we be able to reach it? Will it take our weight? Will we have the strength to scramble out?

A large consignment of humanitarian aid from France arrived in Chita in the middle of January. Jean-Loup Chretien, the first French cosmonaut, organized the food collection and accompanied it to the Transbaykal region. His arrival on a Ruslan heavy-freight plane was anticipated and preparations made. The scenario of the meeting was worked out, roles assigned, commissions and subcommissions set up to distribute the food, and so on and so forth.

Despite all this, problems could not be avoided, and the end result was simply scandalous. More than 400 kg of food sent to Chita from France was spoiled and ended up being fed to the pigs.

A scandal indeed, but the usual Russian sloppiness lies behind it. The food was not distributed promptly, it was stored in warm conditions, and consequently began to grow mouldy. I would not venture to judge who was responsible. V. Imaykin, deputy chairman of Ingodinskiy Rayon Soviet Executive Committee, was officially head of the commission for distributing humanitarian aid, but Ye. Malysheva, chairman of the Rayon Red Cross Society Committee, filled in for him. At least, she did until a trip to China came up, which nowadays is akin to a large money prize. In the three days Malysheva spent on her travels, the food went mouldy. They tried to feed it to the pigs on the quiet—but in vain. Later, Imaykin was equally tactful in his wish to step down as chairman of the commission after the event—also in vain. This whole confused case has now been handed over to the Public Prosecutor's office, but I fear that even it will be unable to dot all the "i's."

If those responsible for allowing the French semi-baked bread to spoil are to be prosecuted, one vital detail is missing: The findings of a competent commission on its quality when it arrived in Chita. No one examined the bread or the other food—and more than 20 different kinds of items were sent. Evidently, the comrades responsible decided that they should not look a gift horse in the mouth in vain. In this particular case, they were dealing with convenience food which could have been past its sell-by date in a matter of days. Even now, the people responsible for distributing the humanitarian aid do not know what the sell-by date was. The information conveyed to them was extremely scant: Before consumption, the bread rolls should be baked for 10 minutes at 200 degrees. Consequently, Malysheva set off for Chita with an easy mind.

The situation with the rest of the food was no better, because no one even thought to translate the instructions on the jars and packets from French into Russian.

Some of the old people who received these unexpected gifts from France burst into tears. Some out of gratitude because they had not been forgotten, and others with mortification because they had to be content with handouts in their declining years. But, in the majority of cases, the bread caused bewilderment—we still have our own at the moment, thank goodness.

Nevertheless, it formed a substantial proportion of the humanitarian aid. When I asked cosmonaut I.P. Volk, who had accompanied his old friend Jean-Loup Chretien, how he liked his new role as provider of the country which had put him in space and made him a national hero, his reply was extremely frank: "These handouts are chicken feed." Jean-Loup Chretien seemed embarrassed by the question and began talking about our inevitable internal enemies and the war they are waging against the Russian people. He was sincere in his desire to help us. He believed that even a loaf of bread had become an impossible luxury for many Russians. In war anything goes.

I imagine he used the very same arguments back home when agitating among his compatriots to give us humanitarian aid. He simply has no other arguments to offer. It is usual to send food, medicines, and clothing to victims of war or natural disasters. Of what we are victims is a riddle with two unknown quantities as far as foreigners are concerned. After all, one progressive leader is replaced by another equally progressive leader—and the country slides into the abyss and its people become destitute. So, in order to explain this phenomenon, everything is ascribed to a secret internal war.

Someone's private initiative and personal opinion is one thing, but it is quite another when we start talking about humanitarian aid at state level. It is best to be realistic: There is no point humiliating ourselves further and giving others something to laugh about.

In our view, regularly injecting the Russian market with ready-made goods and food can lead to only one thing: even greater economic chaos. The republic is already barely working, as it ecstatically redistributes, divides, and monitors. Nevertheless, there is little sense in all this. A substantial proportion of the goods are falling into the hands of home-grown businessmen and giving rise to a new wave of abuses. Our economy is being dealt another crushing blow, from which it is unlikely to recover. To put it more simply, these injections of goods and food will bring Russia to its knees before the whole world.

"Provide Hope" is the code name of the operation to airlift humanitarian aid into the former Soviet republics. "It is curious," IZVESTIYA writes, "that the supplies will include 17,400 tonnes of rations left over at the end of the war against Iraq...." In my mind, this fact gives rise to associations that have nothing to do with curiosity. I have a feeling the gift horse is showing its teeth.

Federation Affairs

Notes on Denouncement of Yeltsin Entourage

924C0581A Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
7 Feb 92 p 6

[Article by Nikolay Krivomazov: "A Denunciation, or How Yet Another Conspiracy Against the President of Russia Was Uncovered"]

[Text] **One dark night a still darker-colored Volga made the rounds of the editorial offices of a number of newspapers.**

Newspapermen privy to the affair whispered at the entrance: "Good evening, Mr. First Secretary."

"The underground obkom [oblast committee] is at work," the night guest responded not parting his lips as he produced from his portable safe further instructions on the course the newspaper is to follow.

The following morning articles appeared in the newspapers TRUD, PRAVDA, RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA, and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA which, in view of their absolutely secret nature, you and I will never be able to read. [sentence as published] This is why we will restrict ourselves to a re-telling.

Thus, here is a story about "the nomenklatura underground" establishing its control over the administration of the president of Russia.

Familiar Faces All Around

Do you know why B. Yeltsin's business trips sometimes resemble erstwhile trips by some first secretary so much? Why these painfully familiar meetings with the working people and the strict, fatherly conversations with the aktiv after which, as a rule, little changes? However, the absence of changes is not the worst news. What looked much worse than that were recent trips by M. Gorbachev, following which even a hard-working Belarus and Irkutsk, which are used to everything, went on strike.

Now for the answers. I quote from the text of an "analytical memorandum" prepared by a group of "experts from the RF [Russian Federation]-Politics Center for Independent Research." They say that in mid-January this completely confidential text was handed to the president of Russia; his response is so far unknown. However the behavior of "independent" publications is known; they have already trumpeted the essence of the "memorandum."

Thus, the whole point is that "the leadership of the administration and secretariat of the president of Russia has actually assumed control of shaping Yeltsin's image inside the country as it accompanies the president on his trips throughout the country staged in the obkom-secretary style, which irritates the people. During these trips the president stands alone against all—against representatives of the local nomenklatura who are supported most vigorously by Petrov, Ilyushin, etc. This is how mistakes are made which have grave international ramifications, such as the one on the issue of the German autonomous entity (a result of joint efforts by the administrations of Petrov, and Saratov and Ulyanovsk Oblasts)."

Yu. Petrov, head of the administration of the Russian Federation president, "through whose fault, on whose initiative, and with whose direct participation" the reform of the president's administration and the establishment of the staff of the Government of Russia were blocked, was identified as the primary culprit in many of our troubles. Let us recall that in the recent past Petrov was one of the secretaries of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Committee of the party. The authors of the memorandum believe that this is the origin of his second terrible sin. They say that without any selection, he proceeded to hire to work for him an entire list of employees of the CPSU Central Committee staff ("including those from a secret organization as dangerous as the General Department of the Central Committee used to be").

The authors of the "analytical memorandum" believe that this makes it all clear. "Damned commies" have penetrated the glorious ranks of nonparty members by hook or by crook; hence the murderous conclusion which they make:

"Yeltsin's positive image, based to a considerable degree on his emotional perception as an 'anti-party Robin Hood,' is subjected to destructive distortion under the influence of Yeltsin's loyalty with regard to communist structures which the people are grasping ever more extensively."

This is clumsy but quite transparent. If it were not bad enough that Yeltsin has not gotten rid of all his former party comrades, he has hired many of them to work for him. At present, like numerous Stierlitzes, they engage in destructive work right inside the bunker. As a result, the experts of RF-Politics are afraid that "the situation emerging around the president of Russia is an extremely negative influence on shaping the image of the president, the image of new Russian power."

Putting it simply, the country is devastated, and so be it. It is much worse that the image [imidzh] or, to use a Russian word, image [obraz] of the man to whom the most faithful of toadies address their loyal writings is being altogether destroyed.

He Is a Brutus, Too

The closer to the "bunker" the more "enemies" the "experts" see. For example, there is R. Khasbulatov. "Recently the leadership of the Supreme Soviet, especially as personified by R. Khasbulatov, is clearly acting as a political representative of the nomenklatura-bureaucratic structures, expressing the collective interests of the top echelon of the deputy corps and the neo-nomenklatura circles. A large 'transfusion' has been made to the staff of the Supreme Soviet from the odious staff of the USSR Supreme Soviet, put together by A. Lukyanov and N. Rubtsov, at the expense of crowding out the functionaries who were carried to the Supreme Soviet by a wave of democratization after the summer of 1990."

Period, end of quote—but not of the list on which, of course, a slot was found for the name of A. Rutskoy, "who is now becoming one of the political pillars of the real shadow economy and administrative corruption by virtue of the logic of his struggle against 'trader-speculators.'"

All other deputies (without exception) look no better than Rutskoy. They are dangerous people because their interests "within the framework of the soviet system run counter to a transition to the separation of powers and the presidential form under which the soviets lose the distributive function, constituting the only meaning of power (from the standpoint of their mentality)."

Yu. Proshin is yet another extremely dangerous person. This chief of the facilities administration (KhOZU) went as far as to squander official assets; namely, he proceeded to return—gave to the editor of the newspaper GLASNOST—assets which belonged to it; he allowed the assets to be carried out of the Central Committee buildings on Old Square.

Thus we have Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Proshin, and a list of deputies. Take a look, Boris Nikolayevich, at the people around you, they say. Of course, underground obkoms which "manage to the full extent oblast (kray) executive and administrative structures" are the most terrifying force. Naturally forces "which are close to the underground communist leadership continue to control the segment of the press with the highest circulation." See the list of these publications above, at the beginning of these notes.

I would admit that if I had as much as a hint of the existence of an underground obkom, I would head into such an underground immediately, of course, in my capacity as a reporter. Political scientists and commentators should know and see everything. I believe that so-called "independent" journalists are even more impatient. The problem is that both the "dependent" and the independent are silent. Have they lost their skills? Nonetheless, the "obkoms" are the logical completion of a circle of enemies, a chain of "Brutuses" closing in on the president still further. This means that something needs to be done immediately, but what?

"To Behead the Dogs"

It is indecent to enumerate all the measures which the authors of the memorandum propose. The mildest proposal is to set up an investigating commission followed by "a special assignment to investigative organs," "establish facts of complicity by officials, deputies, and politicians in secret agent activities in the interests of the KGB," and finally, "make immediate harsh policy decisions," and if possible "dissolve the semi-criminal cadres of the current administrative structures of the government..."

Do you recognize the style of the eve of 1937, if not the year 1937 itself?

Here is the last quote, the final passage which, unfortunately, one is inclined to believe:

"Executive officials of the administration and the government, who ask that their names not be revealed, maintain that in recent days all telephone traffic in the buildings of the government and the Supreme Soviet has been monitored on a continuous and comprehensive basis."

The authors of the memorandum "squeal" on the "inner circle" so assiduously and knowledgeably that, alas, I would not be surprised to learn about some kind of "Russia-gate" after the pattern of the well-known "Watergate." Denunciations and eavesdropping are so akin to each other that these grounds for universal infighting are the most fertile for such activities.

For What Do I Dislike Our Government and Personally...

Actually, why should I like it? It appears that I have just gotten on my feet and here they are, knocking me down good with idiotic wages, crazy prices, ignorantly designed taxes, and other overwhelming policies which for some reason are always directed against me, a citizen; that is, a person who will abide on this planet just once. You see, I abide not "up to the year 2000," as promised by the first and last president of the USSR, but I live now, at present, experiencing the current instant of joy or woe.

I will say more. I intensely dislike all the administration of the president of Russia, without exception, which proliferates as, pardon the comparison, as cockroaches in a run-down apartment. In August of last year, the defenders of the "White House" knew precisely what they were to hurry to defend. I am afraid that at present (God forbid!) even the most zealous of them will be lost and will not know where to rush to set up such a defense because, in addition to the "White House," the rulers occupied the Central Committee building on Old Square in the capital and, as you know, the Kremlin, which sufficed for the entire administration of Ivan the Terrible. They also occupied high and not-so-high rises on former Kalinin Avenue, the House of—pardon me—Political Education on Trubnaya Square. Still, there is a shortage of premises, just as there is a shortage of new apartments for new ministers, blue "flashbars" for black "Volgas," and special food rations at special shops. If Nikolay Travkin were in my shoes he would put it more categorically. He would say that the new "hungry" have come. This is to say, they need to be fed.

Finally, the ultimate heresy. I am afraid I do not like B. Yeltsin either. Nobody will be able to make me change my opinion because we may like or dislike groats, tobacco smoke, or visits by remote relatives. Meanwhile, the president of great Russia should do everything so that I will know as little as possible about his existence, his way of life, and his other actions, or, I beg your pardon, faults. If the president does not interfere with me, or better yet, if he helps me to while away and beautify this short life of mine, he is truly a great president, which is what I wish him to be.

Let me recall the experience of Italy where, since the war and until now, there have been at the very least 45 changes of government. These changes did not in any way affect the people whom we just recently branded "macaronis." Now, as we line up for noodles, we remind one another that regular people in a regular country generally do not have to know either the president's name, or what he drinks at dinner and how much of it.

I believe that having said this, I will not be suspected by anyone of liking the new masters of the new life. Alas, it is not love that fuels my angry concern this time. I can clearly see that they need a new enemy. One thing has failed, another and yet another are not working out. Who is to blame?! Intimidation with the universal red danger no longer works. This means that a roll call of the names is to be made: "Petrov! (Sidorov, or Rabinovich)." "Here." "Get out of the ranks, I want to take your place myself."

How am I supposed to like such people?"

What Would I Do If I Were Yeltsin

There is just one thing I would do if I were Yeltsin. Having received the paper in question, I would have tossed it into the wastebasket. It is not the business of the kings to act upon illegibly signed "research papers." Subsequently I would look around hard. Where there is smoke, there is fire. However, gasoline is not to be poured onto these fires, as court analysts eagerly do.

For example, if the Sverdlovsk brotherhood interferes with the endeavor, if a post-party 'old-boy network' yet again separates the head from the organism, then yes, Carthage must be destroyed; this is nothing new. However, look at this: There are fewer and fewer Carthages. This means that there are more and more castles in the air that they are trying to palm off on us as secure foundations.

If the president's administration has turned out to be stronger than its president, then, as the saying goes, there is an issue here to which persons unknown to us did not venture to respond. They did not venture or did not want to respond because, to put it mildly, they are either being sly or juggling papers such as, for example, in yet another case, that of V. Barannikov, new chief of the Federal Security Agency. It turns out that Barannikov is a henchman of the Central Committee, although even a two-year-old is aware of how he was confirmed by the Supreme Soviet of Russia.

What do they think about this in what used to be the KGB?

The people from the committee responded: "On the whole, the memorandum...in question resembles a lengthy denunciation."

If anybody, these people know what they are talking about.

Rutskoy Corrects Report on Yeltsin Criticism

LD1902004692 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast—read by announcer Sergey Dorenko]

[Text] Our program has received a letter from the secretariat of Vice President Rutskoy. The vice president's aide, Fedorov, asks us to refute the TASS, REUTER, Canadian Radio, and other mass media sources alledging that Rutskoy, in an interview with British television company ITN, said literally: Yeltsin's administration is criminal and should be tried in court for its economic reforms. Fedorov insists that although Rutskoy indeed was talking about the government headed by Yeltsin, he did not mention Yeltsin's name, and this changes things considerably.

Rutskoy Denies Confronation With Yeltsin

PM1902113792 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 15 Feb 92 p 2

[Vasiliy Izgarshev report: "In the Kremlin, Chez Rutskoy"]

[Excerpts] At the Kremlin pass office the young man sitting the other side of the little window threw us a puzzled glance. It could have been interpreted as follows: Why now?, he is saying, looking at the night sky, when all good people are settling down by the "box" after supper.

But the new occupant of office No. 49, which is in the first Kremlin building over which the Russian state flag flutters, had appointed precisely this hour for the meeting. [passage omitted].

We go up to the second floor. A long corridor with a high ceiling, making it seem even narrower than it is. Here is the vice president's door. A modest plate with his name. Rutskoy is already waiting for us. [passage omitted].

[Rutskoy] "There is a great deal to do. Yesterday I went home at midnight. Now too I will not be getting away any earlier..."

[Izgarshev] "Now you must devote yourself to agriculture as well?"

[Rutskoy] "That is the way it goes. The president ordered it—what could a military man say to that? Yes, sir! Forward!.. That is how we were taught..."

On the desk is a draft decree which he himself is elaborating in connection with his new mission.

Back in his previous office I saw superb models of farms and complexes for a new village.. Now they are in another room for the moment.

[Rutskoy] "We are going to get them out of the storerooms and display them in a prominent place, next to my Su-25," Aleksandr Vladimirovich remarks. "We will all tackle the countryside together."

Good heavens, how long have we all been tackling it together! How much paper have we used up, how many slogans and appeals have we bandied about. But just as the countryside has gone downhill, it continues to do so. Many different leaders have been nominated as saviours. The former Union's former president and the former party's former second secretary stepped into their shoes. There are not enough fingers on both hands to count all the elevated protectors of the peasants. How did they finish up? The way they were bound to finish up. No promises or appeals, no ruble infusions helped: As the saying goes, replacing a "cog" did not save the system. Evidently the system itself should have been changed. Now they are also talking about this at all levels of the new authority. But they are only talking.

The vice president himself is full of bright hopes and optimism—that is his nature. Praise be, as they used to say in olden times. But for some reason I am afraid. Are we not once again choosing the next candidate for the role of the person who has to carry the can for the countryside, which has been completely ruined and left barely alive? It would be a great shame if a good, honest man who is unerring in his work is suddenly broken in this post in the manner of his predecessors... It would be a shame and a pity.

And another thing. There are 3,000-odd staffers in the Russian Ministry of Agriculture. There are not even two dozen in the apparatus of the vice president, a combat pilot by profession. There are hundreds of professionally qualified specialists, candidates, and doctors in the ministry. As far as I know, Rutskoy has no agricultural specialists. I do not know, maybe parliament and the president will cough up the money for some structures under the vice president?

The press is always scaring people with a confrontation between the president and vice president. But why on earth do we need this confrontation now? Although it seems that some people do need it.

[Rutskoy] "No, there is no confrontation," Rutskoy reassures. "The fact that I criticize the government's economic policy is just my convictions, and they can be shaken or furthermore changed only by goods on the shelves, their prices, and conditions for just a tolerable life for most of the population. Neither I nor the president promised people poverty in the election campaign..."

Certainly it is not easy for either of them—Boris Nikolayevich or Aleksandr Vladimirovich. You see, both made of flint. Both have a hard character and an exceptional will. And both are explosive. They are, in a word, tough guys. Russia needs such people. We have also seen some jerks. We do not need these jerks, weak-willed leaders who blow with the wind, for inspiration. But neither are the showers of sparks flying from the contact between two flints necessary. We must all remember Russia.

...It was late. We had lingered a fair while with the vice president. On the wet Kremlin asphalt in front of the palace there were bright rectangles from the tall, brightly shining windows. The lights in office No. 49 were burning. The vice president was preparing drafts of the first state documents on the countryside for the president's return from Minsk.

'Little-Known Facts' Column Profiles Rutskoy

PM1902110592 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p3

["Eighteen Little-Known Facts From the Life of Vice President A. Rutskoy" presented by N. Yefimovich and I. Chernyak under the heading "Hands Longing for the Controls..."]

[Text] 1. In October last year, during a meeting with a group of 16 representatives of the San Francisco Chamber of Commerce, A. Rutskoy said: "If I were president, the ruble would be convertible now. The main reason why it is not convertible is the stupidity of the people who ran the country for many years." To all appearances, the Americans were shocked by such a categorical assertion. In any case, one of them, the director of Levi Strauss and Co's Finance Department, observed: "He may understand something about politics, but he does not show any great knowledge of economics."

2. At one time A. Rutskoy was urgently recommended to choose Canada as his country of residence and was promised a comfortable life there. He refused despite everything, which perplexed the Pakistani intelligence services "working" with him in captivity. Rutskoy obviously made the right choice: He would hardly have become vice president in Canada.

After Rutskoy (deputy commander of the 40th Army Air Corps) was released from captivity, it was rumored among the Soviets in Afghanistan that Moscow had "shelled out" several hundred thousand dollars for him to the mujahidin, but that it had refused to pay a cent for soldiers held prisoner. The colonel has denied all this time and again: "I was lucky that I fell into the hands of the Pakistanis rather than the dushmans: They are, after all, more civilized. That is why I was exchanged for a Pakistani intelligence officer, rather than being held to ransom."

3. Having worked a while as chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Committee for the Affairs of Invalids and War and Labor Veterans and the Social Protection of Military Servicemen and Members of Their Families and learned the truth about their situation, Rutskoy—half joking, half serious—asked Marshal of Aviation Shaposhnikov to take him back in the Army: "Defending your country is a noble aim, but we see all the dirt here. It would be better not to know."

4. When an Estonian journalist asked him how his family feels about him having such a busy schedule, Rutskoy suddenly lost his temper and said that women are strange creatures, jealousy is not the best emotion, and all suspicions are groundless. According to the Russian vice president, he spends his evenings sitting in his office or busying himself with state affairs, rather than getting up to what "some" suspect.

5. Rutskoy's plane was brought down twice in Afghanistan. The first time the colonel was seriously injured and had to use an wheelchair. The second time, he ejected and found himself in Pakistan.

6. While despising many politicians of the stagnation era, Rutskoy treats Andropov with respect. In his opinion, the death of this general secretary was a tragedy for the country.

7. In the opinion of many people from his part of the country, Colonel Rutskoy became a Russian people's deputy thanks to the efforts of the Kursk party nomenklatura. He initially stood for USSR people's deputy in Moscow in the company of Yevtushenko and Korotich. But he was unsuccessful. Then he decided to try his luck "on home territory." He was nominated by the labor collective of a biofactory, one of the best enterprises in Kursk. The campaign for the Armed Forces General Staff Academy student was so vigorous that he was even able to get round the local priest in an oblast where religious feeling is traditionally strong. But the electoral commission was forced to officially caution Rutskoy about breaking the law on elections: Not only state funds were used in the preliminary battle. At a plenum of the oblast Komsomol committee he spoke with satisfaction of Academician Sakharov, who had "turned up his toes," which caused a stir of approval in the audience.

8. At a congress of Russian deputies, Rutskoy caused a split in the monolithic ranks of Communist deputies by announcing the formation of a new parliamentary faction. Dumbfounded by its nominee's abrupt change of attitude, his home town took immediate measures: A plenum of the City Council of War, Labor, and Armed Forces Veterans was called. They resolved to strip their famous compatriot of the title "Honored Citizen of the City of Kursk."

9. In Afghanistan, Rutskoy lived near Boris Gromov, commander of the limited Soviet troop contingent, and the two became firm friends. After returning home, they both unexpectedly got involved in politics: Rutskoy became Yeltsin's vice president and Gromov tried for the same position under Ryzhkov.

10. The name Rutskoy is only found in the Kursk region. Military service has always been the main profession of the men of the family. According to the vice president's relatives, the Rutskoys have served their country for some 130 years.

11. Kursk beer drinkers are well familiar with Aleksandr Vladimirovich's mother, Zinaida Iosifovna. She has worked for many years at the beer counter of a store in Kursk. Despite her pensionable age and her sons' attempts at persuasion, she refuses to leave her post at the moment. She does not favor journalists with her attention.

12. His younger brother Mikhail only calls him by his formal name and patronymic. He was with Rutskoy at the barricades outside the White House. He even tried to

fly to Foros. But the vice president deceived him: He asked him to urgently take some correspondents with their photographic equipment to the airport. But then it turned out that the plane had already left. Returning from Foros, he said: "Two graves would be too much for one mother."

13. Mikhail was on holiday with a friend shooting duck. Sitting by a camp fire on the evening of 19 August, they heard the announcement by the State Committee for the State of Emergency on their transistor radio and then managed to pick up Voice of America. They immediately drove to Moscow, to the White House, still wearing their hunting clothes. Mikhail organized a guard for the fourth floor. After the victory, both were awarded a prize by order of the head of the Kursk Internal Affairs Administration. Militia Captain Mikhail Rutskoy, senior detective officer of the internal affairs administration, soon found himself in Moscow as a general in the Russian Internal Affairs Ministry. For his services in the defense of the Russian parliament. But two Rutskoys were rather too many for the White House. Within a few months, Mikhail was back in Kursk to take up his post as deputy head of the internal affairs administration, after being awarded the title of major ahead of time.

14. Many say that Rutskoy has hidden talents as a sculptor. At the Barnaul School of Aviation and the Gagarin Academy—almost everywhere he has done service, in fact—you can find mosaics or commemorative plaques made with his own hands. Aleksandr Vladimirovich also loves engraving. He even plays the accordion and is just as good as former Russian Premier Silayev.

15. The vice president can safely be called a person of no fixed abode. He is currently living in a state dacha and still does not have a permanent Moscow residence permit or his own apartment. If he resigns—and this possibility is being discussed by quite a few people—it is unclear where he will look for a roof over his head. In Lipetsk perhaps, where he was supposed to go after graduating from the academy to take up his assignment as head of the aviation center?

16. As a young man, Aleksandr Vladimirovich went on a course for aircraft mechanics. He left well dressed. But when he returned home, his parents found that many of his clothes were missing. It turned out that he had given them to the other students. They had nothing.

17. Before he went to Afghanistan he was an inveterate hunter. On his return, he said: "That is it, I have done enough hunting to last me a lifetime."

18. The vice president is sure he could do perfectly well without bodyguards. Nevertheless, he respects them and invites them to eat with him. He even gives them presents.

Tokyo TV Interviews Gorbachev

OW1302223092 Tokyo NHK General Television Network in Japanese 1030 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Interview with Mikhail Gorbachev by NHK Moscow bureau chief Kazuo Kobayashi in Moscow; date not given; from the NHK special "Testimony of Gorbachev"—recorded; Kobayashi's questions in Russian with Japanese subtitles and Gorbachev's remarks in Russian with simultaneous translation into Japanese; translated from the Japanese]

[Excerpts] [Program begins with video of Gorbachev arriving at his office in Moscow with accompanying commentary by an unidentified narrator describing Gorbachev's new position as head of the Gorbachev Fund. Video includes shots of Gorbachev's office and Gorbachev holding discussions with his staff. Video cuts to show Kobayashi greeting Gorbachev at an unidentified interview location, and then cuts again to Gorbachev responding to a question on his resignation]

[Gorbachev] I still believe what I did was right. You should not take hasty measures to accomplish historical projects. I strongly object to policies to win popularity among the general public. I insist that I am not defeated.

[Video cuts to Russian street scenes with title of program "Testimony of Gorbachev" superimposed; video also shows short clips of Gorbachev meeting with people, and the dismantling of a Lenin statue. Video cuts to Kobayashi in a studio introducing the program]

[Kobayashi] Gorbachev left the Kremlin on 26 December last year, saying that he had no intention to leave the political world. Almost 90 days after his resignation, Gorbachev revealed his thoughts for the first time in an interview with NHK. I closely observed all his activities during the period from the inauguration of the Gorbachev administration to the collapse of the Soviet Union. Thanks to the Gorbachev administration, people in this country began to speak freely and free media activities were assured. It was very exciting to see East-West relations greatly improve while mutual dialogue and confidence were established. On the other hand, the longer Gorbachev sat in the supreme post, the deeper my questions became on why he followed risky policies that could lead to a collapse. I hope Gorbachev will answer this question in the interview.

[Video cuts to Gorbachev being interviewed by Kobayashi]

[Kobayashi] Has your way of viewing things changed since you left the presidency, and have you become less responsible?

[Gorbachev] Since I did not feel any inconvenience when I was president, there have been no specific changes. Surely, my role has been changed. But I think I have to continue my activities. When I was in the supreme position, various important changes occurred in the Soviet republics, Europe, and all over the world.

Although I am not in a public position right now, I believe that it is my responsibility to continue activities to promote reform at home and abroad by making the most of my abilities and experience. The Gorbachev Fund has been established to further promote perestoroyka, democratize politics, and contribute to establishing a new world order.

[Kobayashi] You made efforts to promote democracy, but ironically, you were forced to resign from the presidential post because of democratic movements. Are you not now realizing democracy's severity?

[Gorbachev] Some unfavorable things happened during the process of drastic reform, which aims to turn this country with its long history in another direction; however, on the whole, I believe reform was promoted within the framework of democracy's principles. I believe in democracy. Therefore, as a person who believes in democracy, I can understand why I had to resign. For me, resigning from the presidential post was not particularly tragic. The ideas of democracy have been infiltrating society at a rapid pace. Now that glasnost, the open information policy, is widely spread, social and political diversities have yielded. Moreover, new political parties and movements, which seek different goals and various types of directions and principles, have emerged.

But I think we cannot say at this stage that democracy has become a necessary force and has passed the point of no return. I think the reform movement itself will not turn back. Where principles of a democracy-based nation and society are concerned, now may be the most important time. [passage omitted]

[Kobayashi] What motivated you to start perestroyka?

[Gorbachev] There was a need to change the political structure itself, which was based on a state-owned economy, one party dictatorship, and one ideology. The structure oppressed intellectual and economic freedom. I had felt the need for reforming society itself for some time. Many people understood this. Khrushchev tried to change the direction of society too. Stalin's model trampled on this country, which has huge potential capabilities. Society's progressive people and intellectuals had felt the need for reform for some time, but all attempts had ended in failure. Why they failed was because the attempts until then were no more than readjustments of various problems of society. Furthermore, if these readjustments took on a progressive nature, and, as a result, if they came to touch on the question of ownership in the economy, or the political system—particularly the Communist Party system or the bureaucratic system—such readjustment efforts ruptured all of sudden. I too initially thought that readjustments would be enough, but I encountered the same problems. Consequently, it became necessary for us to look for a new way, and we came to realize that the structure itself needed to be changed. [passage omitted]

[Kobayashi] You deliberately used foreign mass media to promote perestroyka, didn't you?

[Gorbachev] Yes, you are right. People must know all about their society and they must understand perestroyka. I believed that without this, perestroyka would make little headway, so I promoted perestroyka based on that belief. I had to work to rally as many supporters as possible and to make the people participate in reform. Needless to say, I wanted to explain my policies to people around the world, so I wrote a book on perestroyka. I wrote it with the aim of making people understand correctly what we were doing. I did all of this independently. A democratic society does not function normally without freedom of information and a responsible role compatible with freedom of information for the mass media. The mass media, which is called the fourth power, needs to understand its role and responsibilities.

[Kobayashi] Are you now criticizing Russia's mass media?

[Gorbachev] At present, an unbelievable thing is occurring in our nation's mass media. News commentaries are beginning to echo the government's views. The mass media lacks broad vision, and its role is becoming weak. Now is the most important time for democratic reform, and we need a variety of views. I think that the news media has begun ignoring the tradition of democracy and glasnost's achievements because of economic woes. I want to point this out clearly.

[Kobayashi] That is a question concerning the basis of democracy. What problems do you think the Russian mass media has?

[Gorbachev] Such a trend occurred during my years in office. The situation got out of control whenever reform fluctuated, and we were concerned about that. Therefore, we thought that we needed to promote reform at a certain pace and in a certain direction. I thought that at the time, the media was inciting society. Therefore, I met with journalists from time to time to express my views. On one occasion, I had a hot debate with them. I think that the mass media is now doing the same thing. The Russian Government and other governments of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] have a great responsibility to grapple vigorously with the overhaul of their economies and resolve the questions concerning the transition to market economies and ownership reform to build a new society and new lives. The Governments of the CIS, in some way, intend to make the mass media understand the current difficult situation. In view of my experience gained during my years in office, I know well the feelings harbored by the CIS Government toward the mass media; however, I do not mean to assert that the mass media should refrain from reporting negative things. The mass media should report the negative aspects. As in the Stalinist and Brezhnev eras, if the mass media engages in propaganda activities in which their reports are totally different from what actually occurs in society, I do not support such reports. Such reports would deal a great blow to reform efforts and also deal an irreversible blow to the government's authority. [passage omitted]

It was often said that I was supported more abroad than at home, and I think that it was quite natural. Our nation certainly gained much thanks for the reforms. People have come to gain political, economic, and spiritual freedom. They have come to build their own lives based on their own values. I believe that without those results, it would have been impossible for us to promote reform. Reform has brought great changes to the people. Workers, farmers, intellectuals, soldiers, and the party experienced painful changes. Our nation's economy, resources, labor force, and new research were geared toward the military, and this left goods in short supply. Although we felt the need to address economic ills brought about by military expansion, we found it very difficult to convert the military industry to civilian production. If we implement conversion, this would result in difficult lives for capable engineers and technicians working for the military industry, and it would be painful. We began to scale back the military after halting the arms race with Western nations. If we scaled back the size of the military and converted financial resources available from the reduction to other sectors, the military would face difficulties. This is also something painful. Looking at the party and state organizations, the shift to a market economy will make bureaucratic organizations useless. Bureaucrats have their own lives, and they are capable. As reform proceeded in a concrete way, therefore, perestroyka fell as the first victim to complainings. We made mistakes; however, I would like to refrain from citing those mistakes at this moment. We could not avert the social situation from worsening in the course of promoting perestroyka. At the time when new Supreme Soviets were inaugurated based on free elections in republics which made up the Soviet Union, and although there appeared positive developments, such as the establishment of sovereignty for the republics and sharing the budget among them, we encountered negative developments. In other words, political confrontation began because measures that needed to be taken step by step were taken abruptly. This brought a great impact to the entire domestic situation. [passage omitted on video clip showing Yeltsin among chanting crowd]

At the time, I was engaged in debates not only with Mr. Yeltsin and others, but also there were differences between us in terms of character and tactics. I am confident that my actions at the time were correct. In carrying out a great historical business, it was not permissible to rush in recklessly and resort to popularity tactics. The people must understand this point. With that point in mind, I promoted perestroyka step by step. I hoped to promote reform while averting any civil war or bloodshed, and I set forth principles to that end; therefore, we could not be lenient toward those who caused chaos, confrontation, and fierce struggles in our society by pushing forcibly for reform against the people's will. There is something that I must mention. Other nations may need hundreds of years to promote the reforms that our nation promoted in the past six years; therefore, we need not promote reform at a quicker pace. I admit that I was not quick, to some extent, in resolving several isssues; however, that was only part of the problem. I do not believe at all that grand reforms will automatically begin when we start a machine, like the completely automated plants in Japan. It is not simple to reform any society.

[Kobayashi] I think that you belittled your popular rating among the people.

[Gorbachev] I think that Mr. Yeltsin has concentrated his efforts to win his popularity from the people with the aim to assume a dominating post. He has already carried out as many policies as possible to win popularity. As social ills grew in the wake of reform, complaints and discontent were spreading among people. I was criticized for failing to take a clear-cut attitude. In particular, there was mounting criticism against me that because I launched a reform program to streamline state organizations, I failed to reform old bureaucratic organizations.

[Kobayashi] I think that you did various things to tide over your difficulties; however, you once revealed your feeling of regret about missing an opportunity to take the side of democracy. What did your remarks mean?

[Gorbachev] It is a bit hard for me to understand what you just asked, but I understand what you intended in your question. I wasted a significant amount of time bringing democrats with various views closer together. I did so to prevent anti-perestroyka forces from sabotaging perestroyka. I needed to take steps to that end in the autumn of 1990, but postponed taking such steps until the spring of the next year. [passage omitted on video clip showing economic problems, including the scenes of Shatarin explaining his plan and of the abortive military coup]

At the time, a very dangerous situation occurred. The situation got so bad that we needed to mobilize troops assigned to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. At the time, I thought that if that situation was left unaddressed, it would spark domestic conflicts and bury perestroyka. Also at that time, what I reflected to myself was that I should have taken steps to suppress opposition forces long before. This was my great mistake. In the autumn of 1990, we did not know what sort of reform programs we should work out, how we should compile budgets, and how we should set prices. As a result, the lack of our knowledge worsened the management of domestic enterprises and triggered chaos in the domestic economic situation. At the time, I should have taken a firm stance. Of late, the people are reacting fiercely against increasing prices, while tilting politically toward the right. I have been asked why I sought to find a compromise between the Shatarin Plan, the so-called 500-Day Plan, and the Ryzhkov Plan. I would like to answer the question as follows: The Shatarin Plan was rejected by the Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet was the most democratic organization at home. We were in a situation where we needed to do something to avert scuttling reform. We needed to make a compromise with opposition forces to find a common direction. [passage omitted on video clip depicting the changeover of cabinet members after Gorbachev chose to lean toward the CPSU conservative group in November 1990]

[Kobayashi] In the autumn of 1990, your friends and allies left you one by one. What do you have to say about that now?

[Gorbachev] I cannot approve of their resignations. At that time, I did not accept their resignations and tried to talk them into continuing to work with me. But since I respected them and understood their positions, I entrusted them with the final decision. As you may be aware, the reform being pursued by us now is gigantic and is bound to be accompanied by much tension. This is not something by nature that can be done in any country. Furthermore, this invites very fierce confrontations.

Actually, I may be different from other people. I remained with the party until the last moment. I remained because of fear that the Communist Party might move toward a different concept and turn into a force opposing perestroyka. Sometimes I had to fight alone. In the Central Committee there were people who supported me, and of course there were also such people in the party. They encouraged me. But what sustained me was the sense of mission that perestroyka must be continued and that the party should be reorganized along the line of perestroyka. That was my approach. My motto is not to lose sight of the real target, regardless of difficulties or tribulations that may fall upon me.

But I respect my friends. I do not want to cast doubts on their views. I particularly value their friendship. [passage omitted]

[Kobayashi] Why were you so attached to the CPSU until the last moment?

[Gorbachev] I was so attached to the CPSU because I wanted the party to become a modernized party with platforms in line with perestroyka. The CPSU at that time had a very complicated organization as well as a number of factions within it.

[Kobayashi] Who obstructed reform of the CPSU?

[Gorbachev] The coup d'etat; the coup obstructed it. At that time we were in the midst of drawing up modernized platforms. We had a grand target, and it was greeted by the people with interest. We were supposed to open a party congress in November for deliberation of the new platforms. In the course of discussing the new platforms, the party became divided into two groups; but it was believed that the people supporting the new platforms would eventually be in charge of party reform. As a result, it was thought that a new party would be born. The people who staged the coup thought that if the new Union treaty was signed, the constitution amended, and a new government structure formed through elections, they would not have posts for themselves within the new structure. Their colleagues in the party also felt that the party to be born out of reform would be completely different from what it had been in the past. They could not visualize their posts in such a new party. Consequently, the interests of these two groups coincided and brought about the coup. [passage omitted on video clip showing Moscow streets at time of coup d'etat, and a press conference by key members of the coup]

I knew what these people who staged the coup were thinking. There were other people who did not participate in the coup, and who tried to remain my friends and allies by not giving up hope. But they were few in number. At that time, confrontations over perestroyka were taking place in government offices as well the party. Many of those were people of the past, and I knew it would be fruitless to persuade them. Hence I made efforts toward preventing their reactionary and conservative purposes from becoming a reality. I knew them well and knew what stands they were taking.

But if there emerged some opposed to perestroyka in the course of its expansion in width and depth, we must realize this is only a natural phenomenon in politics. Such things are bound to happen during reform. It is not an extraordinary situation nor a criminal act. But they tried to put their own interests ahead of the people, and they tried to stop reform by the coup. I despise them. I cannot help buy say that it was an act of betrayal. I am angry, and this was also a tragedy.

[Kobayashi] Is is true that the KGB disseminated demagoguery on purpose?

[Gorbachev] I have talked about that before. Demagogic information was spread through various channels; it was aimed at hurting the authority of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. Its source was the information departments of the Defense Ministry and the armed forces. I was aware what kind of information would be put on my desk, and I knew which department would come up with what sort of information. Things happened the way I always thought they would. Their purpose was clear. The information supplied to me by the various armed forces departments was to the effect that the West was putting military plans into action, or that the West was making the best of the given situation to expand its arms, or something like that.

They tried to make me suspicious about the West when I agreed to cooperate with the them or concluded some kind of agreement. The information had a clear purpose. I knew what kind of things the KGB did, and I knew that among the reports received from the KGB was information that had the purpose of putting pressure on the president. The party Central Committee was the same way. There was something like this too: The Central Committee had prepared a statement objecting to my policy and had visited local party offices with this protest statement. They held meetings in these places and discussed the statement. After the discussions, the protest statement was put to a vote, and I was was informed of the result of the voting. The purpose was apparently to put some kind of pressure on me.

[Kobayashi] Knowing all these things, why did you support the CPSU?

[Gorbachev] The party had an organization; local areas had local party leaders. I had a good feeling about the party which had so many sound-minded party members assembled in it. Millions of people abandonned self-interests and joined the party. There were people with various views. I had been involved in a party with that type of thinking. To talk about the last Central Committee plenum held a month before the coup d'etat—the plenum in which I wanted the party to adopt new platforms and thus be reborn—I spoke before the agenda of the session was passed, and I made an effort so that the plenum would not break up. There actually existed such a danger at that time.

[Kobayashi] Why didn't you listen to President Bush when he warned you in advance about the posibility of a coup?

[Gorbachev] Because the information was similar to rumors I heard a week before. It did not go beyond the scope of rumors. I received a phone call from Washington warning me to be cautious because there would be a coup. But the coup did not take place the next day. Dear President, please have a good night sleep, I told him over the phone; there is no coup. Actually, there was no coup at that time.

The coup was bound to fail. If people plotting the coup were sane, they would have realized the coup was a reckless adventure and therefore would have avoided it. Such an adventure was bound to fail. Judging from the data of the gains from perestroyka, I was sure design for a coup would fail. Hence I was at ease. [passage omitted on video clips showing a Lenin statue being taken down, explaining the dissolution of the CPSU, and depicting rising power of Yeltsin]

Among the people was the spreading belief that if they had in their hands the right to dispose of domestic resources, then their standard of living would promptly improve. Their view was that their lives were difficult because all other republics are dependent on Russia [for resources].

Mr. Yeltsin has adroitly exploited these feelings of the people and has dealt a serious blow to the center. The people's feelings have been exploited from time to time as a tool for political struggles. Mr. Yeltsin and others won in the political struggles. At present, Russia is in the hands of the people. Russia appears to be capable of resolving all the issues by using various resources. However, it will be difficult for Russia to do so. What is the most important thing is that Russia should work hand in hand with the other republics.

[Kobayashi] When did you realize that you were defeated?

[Gorbachev] Well, there is the question of why I was defeated. I do not think that I was defeated from a historical viewpoint. I want to point this out. I was not defeated in individual cases. It cannot be said that I was defeated politically because I am now out of office. I hope that Mr. Yeltsin will succeed politically because he is continuing what I started in the past. The concept of perestroyka is being pursued in various areas. If someone argues that all I did was a mistake and that the Gorbachev era was a dark era, this is tantamount to a failure to distinguish between black and white. All that is now proceeding in Europe and elsewhere is a continuation of what I had initiated. I welcome this process. Regarding how political activities carried out by myself and my colleagues should be evaluated, and regarding what sort of historical role we played, newspapers and televisions can not make a correct finding. [passage omitted on video clip of Soviet dissolution]

[Kobayashi] How do you rate the 70-year history of Soviet socialism? Do you think it was a fruitless experiment?

[Gorbachev] Let me indicate at first that nothing is wasteful in history. The most difficult period in history leaves much more valuable suggestions than peaceful times. Our history over the past 70 years has left a lot of things not only to us, but also to Europe and the whole world. We have obtained great achievements in both the political and philosophical fields. On the other hand, we still have to review our job from many aspects. We should discuss what were the products and costs of socialism.

I believe the October Revolution in 1917 had a great impact on democracy and mass movements all over the world. That is my point of view. Later on Stalinism, or so-called adventurism, built up a suppressive society to control the freedom of thought and to abuse people. What you called the defeat of socialism actually is the defeat of the Stalinistic methodology of social reform. Even now I have no doubt about the ideological significance of socialism and its great contribution to the progress of civilization. I strongly believe in the further development of socialism. Socialistic systems exist in every country—including Japan. It is absurd to define socialism and capitalism as mutually imcompatible. Rather, we should take a comprehensive stance toward human civilization to seek a new path for its future development because of the experiences of all countries.

[Kobayashi] Do you have any intention to assume the presidency again if given a chance?

[Gorbachev] The presidency is no longer my primary concern. I would like to clarify that my proposal for the new Union Treaty was not made to ensure my survival as a political leader. I had promised that I would give up my presidential reappointment if the Supreme Soviet approved the Union Treaty. For me, the presidency does not matter any more.

[Kobayashi] Would you explain your future plans?

[Gorbachev] I will carry on political activities within the framework of the so-called Gorbachev Fund. Regarding domestic affairs, I would like to play a positive role in Russia's reform efforts because I feel responsible for what I have started. As a matter of course, I will meet many people and visit many countries. I intend to participate in international conferences on topics of interest to me. For the last couple of days I have met old friends and new allies, and have agreed with them that hereafter we all should take part in social reform.

[Kobayashi] Could you name your partners?

[Gorbachev] I have a lot of them, and all are currently engaged in political activities—including President Bush of the United States; Mr. Kaifu as well as other Japanese politicans and opinion leaders; Mr. Andreotti of Italy; Mr. Kohl of Germany; Mrs. Thatcher of the UK; Mr. Mitterrand of France; and other political leaders all over the world—I will work with them.

I believe that such international activities are beneficial because we are supposed to make the most of the world's political and intellectual achievements in various fields. They are necessary for accelerating the process of worldwide reform and for building a better society. Thank you. [end Gorbachev recording; video cuts to Kobayashi giving closing comments in a studio]

[Kobayashi] At the final stage of his term in office, Mr. Gorbachev showed a clear tendency not to listen to people and to talk to them one-sidedly. However, I felt that he openly dealt with me during our interview, as he frankly acknowledged his mistake in making concessions to the conservatives. It appeared that Mr. Gorbachev now has an objectively broader viewpoint.

While Mr. Yeltsin has replaced Mr. Gorbachev as the president of Russia, his nation is shaken by terrible inflation and fear of unemployment—nothing seems better than it was during the Gorbachev period. In response to a recent poll asking the public to rate Mr. Yeltsin's policies on a scale of 1 to 10 points, nearly 70 percent of pollees rated him below five. As internal struggles rise to the surface in the Yeltsin Government, Mr. Yeltsin is going to follow Gorbachev's mistake of seeking stronger control over the mass media.

While President Yeltsin won his popularity by actively criticizing Mr. Gorbachev, now they have completely changed places with each other. I feel that, as President Yeltsin is driven into a blind alley, the words and activities of Mr. Gorbachev will gain power.

Customs Committee Chief Holds News Conference

LD1702165392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent Andrey Zenkov on 17 February Moscow news conference by Anatoliy Kruglov, head of the Russian Federation state customs committee]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Anatoliy Kruglov admitted that at present not a single customs checkpoint in Russia is in accordance with international standards. He added that the responsibility of the actual procedure of travelling abroad is placed mainly on the countries of the Commonwealth: Moldova, Ukraine and Belarus. [passage omitted]

It looks like, generally speaking, the time of individual smugglers from the customs view is over. Violations of external economic trade operations' rules are the main threat to the well-being of Russia today.

[Begin Krukov recording] The process of the pumping of goods and raw materials into the republics has begun. Many raw material goods [syryevyye tovary] and consumer goods flow, so to speak, abroad.

That is why we have to outline today our interrelations with these republics. We have to, in the near future, settle our relations with the Baltic countries which so far are not members of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] and who are most likely to refrain from signing the agreement on a customs union. That is why this issue is a political one and a relevant decision must be taken on this. A decree on the recognition of state borders with these states should be issued. It looks like we will be conducting the customs policy, in relation to these states, as with third countries.

The situation in the relations with other member-states of the CIS is far more complex. An agreement on the main principles of customs policies should be concluded at this stage. What do they include?

First, there should be a single [edinstvo] economic space and a single customs territory, a single customs tariff, common customs legislation and a common border between the member-states of the union.

Yet, talks on the approving and signing such an agreement are meeting with great difficulties. We have agreed so far not to use exports taxes which have been introduced in CIS countries but to use them in relation to the countries which have not become part of the CIS, i.e. the Baltic countries and Georgia.

We are planning, in order to control the situation, to introduce on 1 July of this year the full declaration of all cargos. This actually means the customs registration of all the cargo which will be exported beyond the borders of the Russian Federation. [end recording]

Ex-KGB Officers To Be 'Sacked'

LD1702175792 Moscow TASS in English 1714 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondent Vadim Malyutin]

[Text] Moscow February 17 TASS—All former KGB officers working in the Russian Customs Service will be sacked within two months in an effort to transform the service from a watchdog organisation to a regulator of foreign economic activities, Anatoliy Kruglov, head of the Russian Customs Committee, said.

Speaking at a news conference here today, Kruglov said the move aims to stop "industrial smuggling" of large amounts of manufactured goods, raw materials and food out of Russia. He stressed that "consumer smuggling" when goods or food are brought into or taken out of the republic in small quantities "do not pose a serious threat to the country's economy".

Kruglov said the customs department for the printed matter and audiovisual means will also be abolished. He added, however, that pornographic materials and "literature calling for the overthrow of the constitutional system in Russia" will not be allowed for bringing into the country. Customs officers will also prevent attempts to take secret documents out of the republic.

Kruglov did not elaborate what literature will be considered anti-constitutional and what social system he meant. "This question has yet to be studied," he said, adding that "customs services in civilised countries do not deal with such questions".

Russian Government Establishes Newspaper

LD1802215992 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI [RUSSIAN NEWS] is the title of the new daily newspaper of the government of the Russian Federation. A resolution on establishing this has been signed by Boris Yeltsin. ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI is being set up on the basis of two publications: the newspaper of the same name, and the PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK [GOVERNMENT HERALD]. Valeriy Kucher (formerly editor of MAGNITOGORSKIY RABOCHIY and USSR People's Deputy from the USSR Union of Journalists) has been appointed editor in chief of ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI.

Weekly Broadcast Listing Faces Bankruptcy

MK1802144592 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian 18 Feb 92 p 28

[Stanislav Yushkin report: "Television Program Schedule Bankrupt. Two Months Left for SEM DNEY"]

[Text] The "Pressa" Publishing House officially notified on 12 February SEM DNEY weekly's editorial office, the main distributor of television program schedules for Russian newspapers, that as of April printing of the newspaper will be suspended because of nonpayment of its account. If SEM DNEY does not find the money in the near future Russian readers will be deprived of information about forthcoming television programs.

(The SEM DNEY weekly was founded by the "Ostankino" television company to replace the weekly GOVORIT I POKAZYVAYET MOSKVA. It has a circulation of 780,000 copies—KOMMERSANT)

At present the television companies send the SEM DNEY editorial office their program schedules for the week. There they are edited and sent off to other newspapers' editorial offices. The newspapers pay SEM DNEY for the information and it in turn pays the companies. However, after this statement from "Pressa"', the only chance of saving regular television information is for the weekly to find outside funding. Vyacheslav Yenchevskiy, deputy chief editor, told KOMMERSANT's correspondent that the weekly, which had always made a profit, is now making a loss. The inevitable bankruptcy is due to the increase in the price of paper and of "Soyuzpechat" services. The editorial office has received a bill for 81 million rubles [R] to cover the additional cost of delivering the printrun to subscribers. Owing to the increased costs one copy of the newspaper now costs R5. Retail sales at that price have virtually died and, so as to somehow try to save the situation, editorial office personnel have themselves taken to the streets to sell the newspaper at R3. However, last week it proved difficult to sell 1,500 copies.

Yenchevskiy is sure that if a way out is not found by April SEM DNEY will cease to exist. This means that no Russian newspaper will receive a television schedule. The only way out will be for the newspapers to have direct contracts with the television companies for the provision of information. However, the television companies once again will only provide this information in return for money.

State Protection Program Prepared For Media

OW1402195192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian Information and Press Minister Mikhail Poltoranin said that his ministry has prepared a program of protecting the mass media. Speaking at the first session of the Russian National Council on organizing the International Year of Family in Moscow Thursday [13 February], he pointed out that there are plans to additionally finance the Russian press for the period of transition to a market economy from the republican treasury. Poltoranin said that according to estimates by Vice-Premier Yegor Gaydar, the program will cost 30 billion rubles. However, the Information and Press Ministry believes 11 billion would be enough. The minister did not specify whether all Russian editions or only official ones will receive the money.

New Security Conference Body Created

MK1502090092 Moscow KOMMERSANT in Russian No 6, 3-10 Feb 92 p 22

[Aleksey Gerasimov article: "Russian Security Has a New Organ"]

[Text] On 4 February Russian military manufacturers held a closed meeting in Moscow at which it was decided to form a permanently functioning conference [soveshchaniye] under the Security Council of the Russian Federation. It is anticipated that the final status of the new organ will be determined by the law "On National Security in the Russian Federation," which is scheduled to be examined by the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation this week.

According to State Counsellor for Conversion Mikhail Maley, 267 people attended the meeting at the "Kvant" science-and-production association. Based on qualifications (determined by whom, it is unclear), those invited were for the most part heads of enterprises of the military-industrial complex and heavy industry employing no fewer than 15,000 people. The attendees decided that the permanently acting conference, in which 15-19 people should participate, will be headed by Yuriy Skokov, state counsellor of the president of Russia for security issues, Mikhail Maley, state counsellor of the president for conversion, and Vladimir Ispravnikov, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of parliament.

The new organ in the security system, say its organizers, in no way threatens the economic course of the government, but is only charged with suggesting how best to convert and privatize weapons manufacturers. On this score Mikhail Maley elaborated somewhat to the effect that "if the government needs peace among the classes, it must listen to the views of the representatives of large enterprises."

The "closed session" decided to recommend that the government pursue the privatization of heavy machinery, trade and the service sector simultaneously, thereby significantly broadening the list of enterprises of the military-industrial complex undergoing privatization. For the enterprises this would first of all mean not only great managerial [khozyaystvennuyu], but also commercial freedom. This is a fully understandable desire considering the fact that the military-industrial complex produces a significant portion of commodities just for export, including weapons.

On the same day and under even more secretive circumstances, a session of the Russian government was held at which the issue of converting defense enterprises [oboronki] was also examined. With the government having decided to examine the issue of the military-industrial complex without the participation of manufacturers, a very one-sided situation could develop if manufacturers answer in kind. Aside from the fact that the " generals of defense enterprises" are in a position to block any government decisions, the military-industrial complex has already shown (in the summer of 1991) that it can be not only a producer of weaponry, but also a powerful political force. Its internal reserve appears even more significant if one considers the highly organized structure of the military-industrial complex and its ability to work in conditions of complete secrecy: if the need arises, certain groups within the military-industrial complex can conduct serious organizational work without "surfacing" until virtually the last moment.

Formation of Russian Space Agency Discussed

LD1702231892 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1500 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Interview with Sergey Aleksandrovich Zhukov and Vladimir Mikhailovich Postyshev, members of the Moscow Space Club, by announcer Vladimir Bezyayev in Moscow—live]

[Text] [Bezyayev] The possibility that a very important document might land on a very important desk for signature tomorrow cannot be ruled out. It concerns the future of our space program and, specifically, the creation of a Russian space agency: the kind of body that the practical Americans arrived at long ago. However, it is also possible that the functions of this agency might be vested in an organization modeled on the former Ministry of General Machine-Building, as KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA quite rightly pointed out 15 February. Sergey Aleksandrovich Zhukov and Vladimir Mikhaylovich Postyshev, members of the Moscow Space Club, have discussed these problems several times before over Mayak's airwaves. They have been actively studying this problem at the request of the Russian parliament and the Russian Government. So, what is likely to happen?

[Zhukov] It seems to me there are two dangers now. First, there is, basically, no funding for the space sector. Like many other scientific and technology-intensive sectors the space industry could shrivel and die because it lacks money. It must, of course, be given funds in the near future. The second danger is that the previous system for managing the space program, which proved its inefficiency by spending money any old how, could be revived under a new flag. The Russian Space Agency that we are proposing would act as client and program formulator. But there are forces, above all those formerly employed in the Ministry of General Machine-Building, which would like to model it on the former Ministry and ensure that it operates in a way which satisfies their own departmental ambitions.

[Bezyayev] What is your view?

[Postyshev] Some specialists believe that the old system worked well, that it gave our space program a worldwide reputation, and produced the achievements that we all know about. The only problem is funding. Give us the money and everything will be all right, they say. This is the main reason for the disagreements that have arisen, and the danger is, unfortunately, that this viewpoint may be reflected in official documents.

Our viewpoint is quite the opposite. The space industry cannot be held together without substantial reform. I would like to state quite authoritatively that the industry is not viable economically, it has absolutely no chance of surviving, no matter what funds it is given, unless it is reformed in a fundamental way. This reform must include decentralization, privatization, and the conversion of aerospace enterprises into joint-stock companies. We must have fundamentally different models for handling cash flows and developing the state space program on the basis of public tender for space work and review of that activity.

[Bezyayev] In the United States the President himself concerns himself with such matters.

[Zhukov] We are proposing a system of management which has, to a large extent, been tested in other countries, above all the United States. In this system there is an agency which, on a competitive basis, first formulates the state space program and then presents it to the president. The president issues directives and asks society for its approval. The congress—here it would be the Supreme Soviet—endorses this program. Then, on a competitive basis, contractors are sought to implement projects. Each stage in the implementation of the program is publicized. People know what their money is being spent on.

[Bezyayev] A very great deal of money is involved, as we know. We have many things that the Americans do not have. They will not catch up fast. It would, of course, be stupid to lose this lead. But I also know that many of the Ministry of General Building people are outstanding specialists. Some of them might feel that there is no place for them in your reorganization plans. Naturally, therefore, that department will resist your plans.

[Postyshev] We are categorically opposed to terms like victors and losers. The interests of what we are trying to do must prevail. We firmly espouse this point of view. A catastrophic breakup of existing structures must be prevented. But this is what is happening in the absence of an agency. We must use the structures and, most important of all, the personnel who understand what cooperation is all about, who have an intimate understanding of technologies, and who possess unique know how about the ways in which this has to be done, how this equipment is supposed to be made and how satellite systems are supposed to be managed. These people are indispensable. What we are talking about is the introduction of correct forms of management, correct ways of regulating cash flows, above all funds allocated from the state budget.

[Zhukov] Confronted with the new conditions, the new restricted circumstances, the old specialists will work in a new way. I would only add that although specialists from the Ministry of General Machine-Building and other space-related ministries could certainly form the backbone of the agency, it should also draw on fresh people, younger people, not just ministry officials. Secondly, it might draw on people from different professions, including economists and lawyers. It should also have some politicians. The agency should draw on all these people.

[Bezyayev] No doubt one thing needs to be added to that. This agency which is envisaged has a counterpart. This is the well-known NASA. There 75 percent of the staff have nothing to do with cosmonautics. These people are economists, politicians, and lawyers who mould policy. Only 25 percent are purely technical specialists. Up to now it is been the other way around with us. The staff were mainly technical specialists. They may have done everything right from a technical point of view. But from the state's point of view, as tax payers, what they did was not at all right. No doubt we will return to this subject in a few days time.

Space Agency Approved

LD1802195392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1742 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—A space agency that will become the main coordinator and client for all space programs and systems is to be set up in Russia. This decision was made at a conference on questions of space activity which took place in the Kremlin today under the chairmanship of Russian President Boris Yeltsin.

The development of a state program for the development of space research and the principles to finance it, and the shifting of the center of gravity from military projects to civilian ones of great national economic importance, are defined as among the most important tasks of the agency.

It has also been decided to set up an interdepartmental service of scientific and technical experts and to entrust it with the revision of all existing and proposed space research programs.

These decisions will be set down in a decree on the structure of space activity administration in the Russian Federation, which the president will sign in the very near future.

Taking part in the conference were leading scientists and specialists, the leaders of a number of ministries and departments of the Russian Academy of Sciences, and representatives of the Supreme Soviet.

'Cosmos-2180' Satellite Launched

LD1802103792 Moscow TASS in English 0921 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—Another artificial Earth Satellite, "Cosmos-2180" was launched from the Plesetsk cosmodrome today by the "Cosmos" rocket carrier.

The satellite carries scientific apparatus for continuing space research.

The satellite has been placed in an orbit with the following parameters: initial period of revolution, 104.9 minutes; apogee, 1028 km.; perigee, 980 km; orbital inclination 82.9 degrees.

Besides scientific apparatus, the satellite carries a radio system for the precise measurement of orbital elements and a radiotelemetry system for transmitting to Earth data about the work of the instruments and scientific apparatus.

Unions See 'No Sense' in Government Agreements

OW1702202192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] 14 Russian trade unions, including the Confederation of Trade Union Associations, the Association of Cooperative Trade Unions, the Independent Miner's Union and others, accused the government of "taking an anti-trade union position." The joint report states that the government clearly favors the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia as a partner in negotiations and agreements detrimental to other trade associations.

"There is no sense in entering into agreements with a government which intentionally, not irrationally, [as received] uses laws to its own benefit and restricts the rights of citizens to unite and defend their own interests, and doesn't care about the quorum of public consultation, and consequently public support," the report states.

The report states that the conditions of social partnership are unacceptable and warns that "when there is no desire for dialogue and constructive decisions it won't be the trade unions who resign—that is the lot of the government."

Lobov Supports Creation of Federation Army

LD1602173592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1600 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] Army General Vladimir Nikolayevich Lobov has described the army question as a stumbling block.

[Begin Lobov recording] More was expected of the Minsk meeting of course. It had been hoped that the Minsk meeting would settle all present arguments about the armed forces once and for all. This was not fully achieved. Not all the i's were dotted. Unfortunately, there were great disagreements on the most important question.

But I see no reason for despair. Everything that is being done is being done for the best, as they say. This aspiration to improve must now be exploited. I still believe that the future of the armed forces lies in the unity of those armed forces. Unification itself can be achieved in several ways. I believe that this unification can be accomplished in March.

Which of these several ways of unification is best? Azerbaijan, Moldova, and Ukraine are establishing their own armed forces, so obviously the time has now come for Russia to also set up its own armed forces. The talks can be continued once the creation of those armed forces has been announced. Each republic should then delegate, from below, armed forces, either partially or in their entirety, to the unified forces. In this way it will be possible to achieve unity of aims and objectives and to bring about cooperation. By uniting from below, then unity of the armed forces themselves can be achieved, I believe. [end recording]

Constitutional Court Chairman Zorkin Cited

PM1402155792 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 8 Feb 92 p 1

[D. Muratov report: "Life Sentence in Court"]

[Text] Last week, the possible retirement of Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Constitutional Court, was being vigorously discussed. Indeed, Zorkin and other court members have been at the center of some very strange happenings lately—first threats, then reminders of the fact that they have children, then a good-for-nothing rock-climber who, at the risk of breaking his neck, scaled the seemingly impossible walls of the court building and was only intercepted by the guards outside the chairman's office. These events, and the rigid stance adopted by the judges who abolished the presidential decree on merging state security and militia organs, are hard to reconcile with the highly peaceful exterior and professorial intonations of Valeriy Dmitriyevich. We were overwhelmed with letters asking that he be allowed to have his say, and we hereby publish a fragment of our conversation with the chairman of the Constitutional Court.

"...If we are constructing a rule-of-law state, then we should also construct a rule-of-law policy. So there is no need to accuse us of stupidity, as if we are blocking reform, Yeltsin's decisions, and so on. We are in favor of legitimate aims achieved through legitimate means. No more."

"...Yes, the judges were unanimous in deeming unconstitutional the decree on merging the organs. This is not likemindedness, however, but unanimity. A professional awakening, if you like. Professionalism is a guarantee of the law in its purest form. And furthermore, it is reinforced by the oath."

"We have to stop cooking laws in the same pan used by Gorbachev's entourage. We were interested in the mechanism for creating this document—we held an inquest and defined the reasons for the appearance of this document (on merging the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs). The chief reason was to substitute expediency for the law."

"The paradox is this: We have to comply with an obsolete Constitution. But until we adopt a new one, we cannot get by without it—a strange and destructive process is under way, with declarations not of state but national sovereignties. From a legal viewpoint I can predict that unless we halt this process it will lead us down the path of Yugoslavia.

"It is vital to adopt a new Constitution urgently: New principles of state structure are needed, and new mechanisms for defending the state. Otherwise, regional lawlessness will create a global anti-law situation from which we will no longer be capable of emerging."

"My view is this: If we do not want an irate population to move to the extreme right, to fascism, and Nazism, it is worth thinking about creating a serious conservative party which will 'draw' many people into it and act as a mediator between the population and reform."

"I have no plans to retire."

Constitutional Court Warns of Disintegration

PM1802132992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 17 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[RIA report: "Constitutional Court: Fate of USSR Threatens Russian Federation"]

[Text] The fate of the disintegrated USSR may overtake Russia. This was stated 14 February at an open session of the Constitutional Court.

The court members noted that on the territory of the Russian Federation many formations have appeared whose leaders state that the Russian Constitution does not extend to them. That applies primarily to Checheno-Ingushetia, Tatarstan, Tuva, Yakutia, and Krasnoyarsk Kray.

'Bolsheviks' Form Committee for Congress

MK1402091792 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 2

[Yevgeniy Krasnikov report: "Patriots: State Men Demand Congress, Communists Ready To Strike Bell"]

[Text] The idea of convening the Sixth Extraordinary Congress of USSR People's Deputies as the only legitimate organ of authority emerged back in December, right after the three presidents reached the decision to eliminate the unified Union state at the Belovezhskaya meeting. A number of USSR people's deputies (more than 450) then demanded that this congress be convened immediately.

The Russian authorities did not pay the slightest attention to these calls, and the idea of reviving union structures seemed to have died once and for all. However, during the current spring Communist offensive it turned out that it had taken possession of the "Red masses." The "Trudovaya Rossiya" rally 9 February voted for this Congress to open 17 March, the anniversary of the referendum on the unity of the USSR. A news conference was held 13 February in the Council of Moscow Workers (the Bolsheviks' current headquarters) announcing the creation of an organizational committee to prepare and hold an Extraordinary Congress. It is chaired by Sazhi Umalatov, and the organizational committee includes Teymuraz Avaliani, Aleksandr Kraykov, Albert Makashov, Vavil Nosov, Leonid Sukhov, and a number of other deputies.

The participants in the press conference were keen to appear optimistic. General Makashov said that there would certainly be a quorum at the Congress. Various appeals and statements addressed to the Russian authorities demanding that the organizational committee be given an "office with telephones and the requisite equipment" were read out. Hope was expressed that Anatoliy Lukyanov would take part in the Congress—his "fault lies in not agreeing with those who broke up the Union."

But of course it is hard to imagine the present state men [gosudarstvenniki] saying all this seriously. Evidently, the campaign to convene a Congress of USSR People's Deputies is a propaganda act to stress the illegitimacy of the incumbent Russian authorities. In was not for nothing that "Trudovaya Rossiya" decided to hold another rally 15 March on the eve of the proposed convocation of the Congress. People's Deputy Vavil Nosov said at a news conference: "We will meet at the Manege people's assembly on that day and strike the Kremlin's Ivan the Great bell.

Survivors From Yazov Days Block Army Reform

PM1402120692 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by Vladimir Lopatin, deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions, followed by brief biography of Lopatin: "Will the Red Army Defend the White House?"]

[Text] I was one of those who, when Marshal of Aviation Ye.I. Shaposhnikov was appointed to the post of defense minister, openly claimed that whereas, earlier, aviation was up to the mark, now the whole army would come up to the mark too. Six months passed. Illusions were dispelled.

It seems that the military leadership wanted to play at democracy and flirt with the democratic forces in order to survive the unstable period following August 1991 and strengthen its own positions. To a great extent it succeeded in this.

It succeeded in forming a persistent opinion to the effect that it is necessary and possible to maintain a unified army in the old form. Although this is just another myth. The collapse of a totalitarian system inevitably leads to the disintegration of its military organization too. World history knows no example of several states having a unified army. The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent

States] is not a state. And any experiment to ensure the unity of the army in this situation is an attempt to preserve the conditions for a return to the old system. Each new such attempt politicizes the army, helps it to recognize its own potential in the power struggle, and, in my view, brings us closer to a denouement on the Yugoslav pattern. There the army, while advocating the preservation of the state, was saving itself. Or rather, the power and position of the generals. This "salvation" took the form of a bloody civil war. We must not repeat other people's mistakes. That is why the slogan "Army unity—at all costs!" is politically erroneous and harmful.

Continued attempts to preserve the army in its old form are rendering it unreformable and exacerbating the existing crisis, the reasons for which lie not only in the sphere of the redivision of national and state entities, but are as much, if not more, to do with the defective nature of the existing system of specifically military structure, manpower acquisition, and service procedures. In our army of 3 million, there are a million officers. Every day hundreds of them, because of the lack of adequate social provision and, most importantly, because of the uncertainty about their future, write applications for discharge. Officers and warrant officers join soldiers' guard details. Units and subunits are manned with soldiers up to only 20-40 percent of the prescribed manning levels; they lack professional junior commanding officers, and they are approaching single-nationality composition. The troops' readiness, controllability, and reliability are declining, and meanwhile we have not yet moved a single step closer to forming a professional army, rather than just talking about it. Why not? Because that is contrary to the basic interests of the majority of the military leadership and threatens to limit their power and result in "job" losses for many of the 20,000 generals and officers in the central military apparatus.

Unlikely, but true: As of today, virtually the entire Yazov apparatus has been preserved. Trusted colleagues of the former minister found themselves in Shaposhnikov's close entourage, and initially gave verbal support to the new leadership's reforming ideas, while doing nothing in practice to implement them; now they have resumed their former course—"no to the changes." The commission that was formed to analyze the activity of the leadership personnel of the Armed forces in the period of the coup d'etat was abolished after two months. Without having really gotten down to work. Military leaders who came out in direct support of the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] kept their posts and, after an intermission in September-October, took even tougher positions with regard to democratic changes in the army. As a result the best people are leaving the army, those whose forces could have been used to create a new professional army. The only ones remaining are those who have not long to go before their pension, or else those who, crushed by the millstone of the present policy of cadre selection (which is based on the principles of favoritism, personal loyalties, and servility), have lost all interest in the changes. The result is success where Yazov failed: Faith in the possibility of reform has been undermined among army people, and the internal opposition to generals who are unwilling to change anything by junior and middle-level officers who demand changes has disappeared; those who were in at the beginning of the struggle for reforms (like General A. Vladimirov, for instance) have been driven out of the army.

Another of the "achievements" is that the Russian leadership is entrusting the decisionmaking or drafting of decisions on military matters to the military leaders themselves, who proceed primarily on the basis of their own interests. This "tradition" of the Union structures cost M. Gorbachev dear, but now it is being revived in the Russian corridors of power. Although there are no real grounds for such trust. For instance, had Russia agreed to the military department's proposals for the 1992 military budget, there would without fail have been a social explosion in the army. Because the application for an increase in expenditure of 2 billion rubles [R] for the payment of servicemen's wages, R0.3 billion for pensions, and R2.7 billion for housing construction, coupled with a decrease in arms expenditure of only 27 percent, would in effect have meant a reduction in social programs. Another illustration is the initiative that has already been announced, on the creation of a joint ABM defense system, whose implementation, in the opinion of experts, will only prompt a new spiral in the arms race, which once again is beneficial not to Russia, which has declared demilitarization, but to the military-industrial complex which we have inherited and which combines the interests of generals in industry and in the army.

Our military sphere still lacks parliamentary and civil monitoring. No political administrative department has been set up to tackle military matters. Despite direct appeals to the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium proposing that this question be examined, its leadership maintains silence and neutrality. The existence of several fragmented and weak Russian executive structures on defense questions is only a screen concealing the omnipotence of the military department. The formation of a Russian Defense Ministry, which is expected in the near future, could prove to be a mere farce. Because it cannot be ruled out that part of the old military department, continuing the old military policy, will turn into the new ministry. That this suggestion is realistic is indicated, in my view, by the "shift in position" by General Kobets: In July 1991, as chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense and Security, he came out in favor of the creation of a Russian Defense Ministry; in October of the same year, having moved to the Union structures, he came out against it; in February 1992 he is again talking about the need to form such a department, having first drawn up a draft Russian presidential decree appointing him its leader. Presumably on the grounds that his former "job" has been abolished. And since Kobets, as chairman of the Committee for Military Reform, made no active effort to form the said committee, merely feigning activity under the auspices of the General Staff (in three months the committee never met once), it is presumably possible to predict unerringly both the thrust and the result of his activity.

True, there are also instances of a different kind—when the tasks set coincide, most likely, with people's own interests. Then in record time (not following the example of the Russian State Committee for Defense and Security, which after being in existence for six months was up to only 6 percent of its manning level), with the participation of the very same leaders, they can set up such influential organizations (influential in terms of their financial and commercial potential) as the "Konversiya" Association and the "Garantiya" Foundation. In token of gratitude to the initiator of such rapidly realized ideas, these same military leaders create equally quickly a "comfortable" place at government level for that initiator personally. And since these structures control considerable resources in the context of the sale of military and defense property, taking into account tax concessions and others, the opportunity is created at the same time to play the part of a zealous activist in the sphere of resolving servicemen's social problems.

The exploitation of military men's problems, when their resolution depended on the position of the military department in the context of the inactivity of organs of state power, made it possible to achieve another result too—to shift the blame for the crisis in the army away from the military leaders and onto, first, the Union organs of power, and now the Russian structures. But this deception cannot be concealed for long, any more than it is possible to keep secret the true intentions of the generals who suddenly came out in support of the officers' assembly that they formerly so heartily disliked. I was directly involved in the three-month struggle with the military department apparatus, upholding the right of the assembly, as an organ of social self-government, to elect its own chairman by secret ballot (formerly the chairman was the commanding officer, ex officio) and express the assembly's lack of confidence in any officer. The resistance to this idea was prompted by the fact that it was seen as an encroachment on the system of unlimited power of commanding officers at unit and large-unit level. The military leadership saw the All-Army Officers' Assembly as not so much an instrument of democracy within the army, more a way of expressing their own interests—directly participating, through its organs, in the power struggle at interstate level.

The result was, in effect, the legalization of the right of military leaders to act as an autonomous political force. And that could not be more appropriate to a situation where the functions of political, administrative, and military leadership are merged in the same structures; where the Armed Forces are in effect subordinate only to the commander in chief, since there have been no other decisions on this point; where departyization of the army is only half done and it is becoming powerfully politicized, through, among other things, the direct participation of military men in political parties and movements; where, lastly, each political force is trying to flirt with the military department, which, for its part, is skillfully exploiting these conflicts, even within the Russian leadership, to preserve its own position.

In order to achieve its goals the military department first made partial concessions in the shape of a reorganization (mainly on paper) of military-political organs or assurances that a reform of military personnel policy would begin. An instruction was even issued to that effect, which, however, a few days later (under pressure from the Main Personnel Directorate or at the wish of the commander in chief, I do not know which) was postponed "to better days." As a result the policy of old-style selection of "complaisant" and "obedient" commanding officers and the organs that implement that policy were preserved indefinitely. In other words, the "drive belt" of the entire system of one-man command and one-man power remained unchanged. And for the sake of ensuring the "reliability" of implementation of his commands, the commander in chief ensured that Comrade Rodionov, chief of the Main Personnel Directorate, received appropriate sops: In September he was a major general, in October a lieutenant general, in November a colonel general.

I am convinced that the changes cannot, however, be held back by such measures. Russia will have its Defense Ministry, its own armed forces, and its autonomous military policy.

I am convinced that the Russian Defense Ministry should be a purely political, administrative body headed by a civilian, without a direct military control function. I see its armed forces as a professional army with a strength of around 1 million men, maintained out of a military budget the annual volume of which will be not more than 2 percent of GNP. In this army there will not be a situation such that there is one officer for every two soldiers; such that two-thirds of the generals serve not in the forces, but in Moscow; such that a soldier "serves" for his own rations, while an officer gets less than a driver or a cleaner; such that relations within the army are based on the principle of serfdom, rather than on the basis of the law and a contract. There is no alternative—world experience of military building has shown this.

I am convinced that Russia's military policy must be an integral part of a national security policy whose aim is to ensure the stability and national interests of the Russian Federation. (The principles and priority measures for the formation and implementation of Russia's military policy are a matter for a separate discussion.)

I believe these questions call for the holding of special parliamentary hearings without delay and on that basis the drafting and adoption of state military programs, taking into account the opinion of military experts among others. Only this form of participation by the military in the formulation of military policy will make it possible to halt the slide toward civil war.

And last, a personal point. I would like to put a request, through this newspaper, for the restoration of my former military rank, since the decision to confer the rank of colonel on me (to which I immediately expressed my opposition) was in practice an attempt to bribe me, and when that failed, to discredit me. In my view the formula used in the defense minister's order No. 145 of 7 September 1991, "for personal courage and staunchness shown in the defense of democracy in the country," is no more than a tribute to convention. Throughout the days of the August putsch, when I was among the defenders of the White House, I sincerely believed that among other things I was defending the future changes and reforms in the army. We did not spend three years fighting Union and military bureaucracy in order to block these changes today and keep everything the way it was. That is not why I consented to work in the Russian structures 18 months ago. If I return to my former rank, I can make the transition from direct dialogue with the "powers that be" to my former way of dealing with them, via the opinion of those whose fates are decided in the course of this "do-nothingness."

[Postscript] Vladimir Nikolayevich Lopatin was born in 1960 in Krasnoyarsk Kray. In 1977 he graduated from the Achinsk Construction Technical College, and in 1981 from the Kurgan Higher Military-Political School. From March 1989 to January 1992 he was USSR People's deputy from Vologda Oblast. Since September 1990 he has been deputy chairman of the Russian State Committee for Defense Questions.

Gaydar on Government's First 100 Days

LD1602230292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1848 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Interview with Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yegor Timurovich Gaydar by correspondent Tatyana Khudobina; place and date not given; from the "Face to Face With Russia" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Khudobina] Yegor Timurovich, we are meeting at the time when the government has completed its first 100 days. The inexhaustible optimism of our people evidently boils down to this, that when we look for results from the reform we make the count not in years as we should but in days. The mass media have presented you with the widest variety of forecasts, ranging from extremely pessimistic ones, like the collapse of the Gaydar program, to encouraging ones: Prices are stabilizing and are even falling here and there; the ruble is stabilizing and economic links are even being established between the republics which are preserving the ruble zone and so on. But I remember Larissa Piyasheva saying at the start of the reform that the reform-minded economists reminded her of surgeons approaching a patient who is hopelessly ill. How would you, as the surgeon, present your diagnosis of the condition—today's condition—of your patient? Does he remain just as hopeless? Or is there some hope of a recovery?

[Gaydar] I certainly do not think that our economy, our society, is in a hopeless condition. It is in a difficult condition. A very serious operation was needed, is still needed, and the operation is continuing. In my view the serious operation is still going according to plan.

[Khudobina] How are events going to develop, say, over the next month?

[Gaydar] I think that the dollar's exchange rate with regard to the ruble will continue to fall. The ruble's demand will grow. I think that price stabilization will take place. I do not expect a substantial fall in prices, of course, but I think that stabilization will take place, there might be a slight rise. Naturally the most serious problems are now going to arise in the production sphere. The first thing we came up against during the reforms was the sharp leap in prices for consumer goods while the shortages remained. Then the next stage: Prices came up against the level of effective demand. Problems arose with selling. Then there came the wave of complaints because output was not being sold. Production had to be reduced; moreover, prices had to be reduced. After that the next wave: an enormous leap in prices of agricultural equipment and restricted demand for agricultural equipment. Farms are not inclined to take agricultural equipment at these prices. This goes back down the chain. What is happening for the first time here is that there are problems in selling the metal, despite the sharp metallurgy crisis. In short, we are tightening the production chain further as we form the buyer's market. Well, how are we doing this? We are doing this by implementing a very tough monetary and credit policy. It is working because it is impossible simply to take one's expenditure and put it into one's prices. Of course this puts enormous pressure on the printing press. Throughout the whole time everyone wants to set it going at full speed and there are a lot of objective requirements: such and such an industry has to be helped; and then that one has to be helped, too. And then it would be a good idea to provide some cheap credit over there and here is something that should be subsidized.

We now have the chain of nonpayments. Only quite recently enterprises never thought about whether there was money in the consumer's account. They thought about other things—would the consumer be able to supply a Zhiguli car in return or provide places in a rest home or deliver some six by eight (?sheeting). They thought little about the money. Suddenly it becomes clear that they are not paying. They are not paying because there isn't any money. If there isn't any money then there is nothing with which to pay their own suppliers. There is no money for wages. So one has to think about who will receive the goods. Do they have money? If it is an unreliable customer then change to different payment conditions such as payment in advance. It is a different economy—and we will only be able to build it if we do not go to pieces now, if we do not give in on everything and start pumping back money.

[Khudobina] At the latest government session, your report, your speech, was fairly optimistic. Nevertheless, what is your optimism based on in a situation where we still see a slump in production? Whereas for millions of our viewers one indicator of some kind of recovery is that as soon as production begins to grow we will have confidence in the future.

[Gaydar] A turn around in production, the start of an upsurge in production, cannot take place at least within the next year. An upsurge in production is impossible against the background of such a major reform and necessarily tough stabilization policy until we stabilize our finances, until we restructure our economy, until we create the prerequisites for healthy growth. The most optimistic hypothesis enables one to count on a resumption of healthy growth, upon a basis that is different in principle, in 1993. I would very much like to plan for a growth in production. I would very much like it to take place. But, unfortunately that does not happen in situations like this. It can be planned, therefore, only by someone who does not know that it does not happen in situations of this kind.

[Khudobina] We talk now about the ruble's stabilization. Recently, in fact, we commented widely on your statement about a somewhat optimistic picture once again being observed with regard to our ruble. How is our ruble going to live under conditions where the ruble zone is falling apart? Do we depend upon our former republics in some way? And haven't your optimistic forecasts changed following the recent conferences, including yesterday's, when the disintegration of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] is becoming more and more obvious?

[Gaydar] Uncoordinated actions in the monetary sphere by other republics and other states of the CIS can create problems for us, but only we ourselves are able either to save or to destroy our own present-day ruble. The main result of this week's government session was the firm conclusion that the present Union ruble can, in any case, be saved and we will try to do that. Moreover, I think the strengthening of the ruble, which has clearly been shaping up with regard to coupons and to the dollar among other things, and the sharp demand for it in the Baltic republics will be a serious factor which will compel many states to rethink their attitude to monetary policy.

[Khudobina] Between which republics can the ruble zone be preserved? How, in general, do you see the existence of the ruble zone in the future?

[Gaydar] I think that there will be a ruble zone. I think that it will bring together at least Russia, Kazakhstan, and Belarus. And I think that a whole list of states will join the zone with pleasure.

[Khudobina] We have just received a report that the United States and other countries in the Big Seven have started setting up a stabilization fund for our ruble running into many thousands of millions [currency unit not given]; yet, at the same time, Western media do not give a straightforward assessment of this process. I would just like to read out to you a quotation broadcast by Deutsche Welle. Moscow politicians are almost hysterically demanding 5 to 6 billion dollars for the stabilization of the ruble. More and more new credits are being received. The presses turning out the money are working at full capacity, but the deficit on the state budget continues to grow. It is time that the governments of the Big Seven came out openly against the peremptory demands from Moscow. You cannot give aid to those who do not help themselves.

[Gaydar] On the whole, judging by the results of our talks with the finance ministers of France, Canada, the United States, and Great Britain, one has to say that on the whole attitudes are positive. They see that we are making some very serious efforts and they see the results. They express the willingness to cooperate in this sphere. But indeed no one wants to give, and no one will give, any money gratis to people who do not want to help themselves. We are counting on a different policy, and there will not be any hysterical cries on our part. We state firmly and unambiguously that we do not expect and do not hope for anyone to come and solve our problems for us. The essence of the stabilization fund is that this is money which no one spends. It is a symbol of support by the international financial community for the efforts being made by the government to stabilize its own national currency. It is only made available when the international financial community is firmly confident that this stabilization program is capable of being successful. If that were not the case then one might just as well throw the 5 to 6 billion to the winds.

[Khudobina] What are the principles upon which they are intending to cooperate with us? What are they asking from us in exchange?

[Gaydar] In one sense this is medicine which is needed not by the doctor but by the patient, though it can be nasty to the taste. The medicine is quite understandable: the continuation of a fairly tough budgetary policy, the continuation of a tough credit policy, further steps aimed at the further unfreezing of prices and at quickly cutting down the range of controlled prices that are still retained, further liberalization of external economic activity, strict limitations with regard to the use of quotas and licenses tied naturally to the convertibility of the ruble and the creation of a stabilization fund, the increase of prices—raising prices substantially for sources of energy, the introduction of a special tax on energy sources, the introduction, the restoration, of import tariffs—we, too, understood that the lifting of import tariffs which we brought in for the first half of the year is a temporary measure, naturally the import tariffs will have to be restored later—and we are also holding talks because there are demands with regard to the level of interest rates, that they should be raised further. In our own country everyone says that the interest rates are terrible, that they are stifling the economy. But from the viewpoint of the International Monetary Fund they are inexcusably low and they should be raised. We are having talks about this.

There are problems in the sphere of incomes regulation. We firmly adhere to the principle of freedom in relation to wages and believe that income levels should be kept in check by the firm monetary, credit, and financial policy. The IMF and its experts agree in general with the possibility of such an approach but at the same time there are still questions on the possibility of using special additional wage restriction factors; and so on. In general, these are quite normal, natural conditions which are always being discussed when there is talk of financial stabilization and market-oriented reforms with participation of the international community.

[Khudobina] To what degree is our government capable of fulfilling the needs of society—I mean the social programs? To what degree can we really provide for low income people and so on under the present conditions?

[Gaydar] Within the budget limits.

[Khudobina] Could you be more specific?

[Gaydar] We will not be able to guarantee prosperity for and access to all the goods at the present market prices to everyone. This is why it is necessary that our social programs should be extremely clear, economic, and targeted at those who are really needy.

[Khudobina] Yegor Timurovich, we had two peasants' congresses this week—representatives from the collective farms and private farmers. Many people predict that division of land under the present conditions will lead to a further fall in agricultural production. Does this mean that the mood for holding back the land reform prevails in the society? Does it mean that we shall be back to square one, to the socialist way of production?

[Gaydar] I absolutely do not believe in this. It is not possible to return to what we had before. Transformations in the countryside are under way and they will further continue. Like everything in real, practical life, where nothing is perfect, there will be excesses, abuses of power, division and slaughter of livestock, losses, problems connected with the division of machinery, clashes over tractors, excesses connected with the attempts to recreate the old structures. If you look at statistics of the newly created farmers' enterprises now and, say, during Stolypin's time, you shall see that we are now entering the critical stage—the third year. In the third year we shall see if it has taken off in earnest or not. I think that it has taken off. I do not have illusions that it will give us a sharp growth in agricultural production volumes this year. Moreover, against this restructuring background serious problems will emerge. We shall firmly adhere to the course of supporting the farmers' enterprises, even in this present, very complicated situation.

[Khudobina] How and by what means do you intend to support farmers in such a difficult situation?

[Gaydar] First of all, I have never promised any great wealth. We allocate budget resources to support farmers, 6.5 billion. We will support preferential credits for farmers. We have agreed on close cooperation with farmers in solving their most serious, painful problems related to their vulnerability, pure human vulnerability—for example, the question of carrying weapons, or joint efforts to defend them from racketeering, removing barriers from goods' circulation. We support, we will introduce relevant proposals to release farmers' children from military service, replacing it with work on their family farms in order to give them a chance to stand on their own feet. So, we have possibilities and the desire to help farmers. Obviously this does not mean at all that we are closing our eyes to the fact that in the very near future collective farms will remain the basis for the production of the agricultural output.

[Khudobina] Yegor Timurovich, today there are demands on the government to ensure that the middle man's capital, which unfortunately dominates business activities of our entrepreneurs, is somehow used in the industry. Do you see any problem there, and can the government influence a decision on this problem?

[Gaydar] When prices rise weekly, no one ever concentrates his efforts on long-term capital investments, on building workshops, or on investments in technological resources. All entrepreneurial activity always switches to speculation, such as investing in obligations, keeping them for a while, selling them the next day when their price has gone up and then investing in Zhiguli, and so on. What we have to achieve most of all is a different economic environment. Then, according to the economic rational, new patterns of behavior will emerge, there will be more productive investments in the most promising areas of the national economy.

[Khudobina] A definite stage in the existence of the Russian Government has come to an end. Have you introduced any changes into the course of the reforms and if so, which ones?

[Gaydar] I do not think that we have had to make fundamental changes to what has been conceived. On individual points of detail, of course, one has to do so literally every day because the rate of exchange, say, between the dollar and the ruble changes, the possible level of export tariffs which is based on this exchange rate changes, and so on. Time tables change. Perhaps the most substantial thing is the issue of the union ruble. When we embarked upon this operation we too had doubts about whether it was possible in principle to save it. The burden of inflationary expectations linked with this ruble was too great. Too much had been said about it. Too many people had written it off. Now we are convinced that it is possible to save the ruble and we will try to save it.

[Khudobina] How do you react to the numerous criticisms which are directed at the government today?

[Gaydar] I react calmly. It is a natural reflection of our own inevitable inaccuracies and inefficiency, and the corruption in the lower levels of our exisiting apparatus. One might think that this could have been turned over during these 100 days. There are some very strong socialist stereotypes in society, some very strong expectations that someone will solve all the problems, that the government is simply keeping the wealth somewhere in a secret box so that it can distribute it better if pressure is put upon it or if a new government comes to power. Our attitude towards this, therefore, is a calm one.

[Khudobina] These days people are quoting very vigorously the books written by your grandfather [writer Arkadiy Gaydar]—you are evidently the reason for that—and in one Russian town they even say that the demand for the book "Timur and his Team" is unusually great. What is your reaction when you hear quotes like that?

[Gaydar] This question has been pursuing me since my childhood, you know. When a boy with the surname Gaydar starts school and when, added to that, he is the writer's grandson then the teachers pester him endlessly with questions like why doesn't he act in the same way if he is the grandson of such a good writer? It is quite tiresome and unpleasant. You cannot help trying to study well therefore just to avoid being pestered with stupid questions. So how shall I put it? To some extent I am used to it. I do not think that my grandfather would hold against me what I am doing.

Preparations of Currency Issue Denied

LD1502111692 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1300 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Text] The Russian Federtion is not preparing to issue national currency. This was stated by Aleksey Ulukayev, adviser to the Russian minister of the economy and finances. He categorically denied allegations that new Russian bank notes are being printed in Perm.

Government Discusses Social Protection Measures

PM1402163792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Vasiliy Kononenko report: "Government Intends to Assist the Badly-Off"]

[Text] In the afternoon of 13 February the Russian Government met for its routine session with an agenda which could be described as emergency measures to keep the ship on course.

The first and second items were given over to the results of reforms in the economy as a whole and specifically in the agrarian sector. To all appearances no fundamental amendments are foreseen here at all. G. Burbulis stated this the other day at a meeting with enterprise directors. The government intends to analyze the situation and then devise measures to make the reforms more dynamic.

The third item on the agenda, on the social protection of the population in this period of crisis, looks much more specific. In addition to analyzing the situation, a group of ministries is putting forward drafts of four important documents for confirmation. They include a Decree on the System of Minimum Consumer Budgets for the Population of Russia. It specifically proposes that a republic minimum consumer budget be determined based on a basket of goods and services, and also that the minimum wage, pensions, benefits, and grants be raised along with other social payments, taking into account these budgets and the real economic resources. Additional calculations of the minimum consumer budget should be carried out in all krays and oblasts. Calculations of a minimum living wage have also been commissioned in the provinces. Government experts estimate this figure at 1,000 rubles [R] at January prices.

A Decree on One-Shot Payments for February and March 1992 to Poor Sections of the Population is also being discussed. It proposes the following payments: R200 to pensioners, R100 for each child in poor families, and R50 to vulnerable sections of the population, including nonworking mothers and servicemen's wives and well as people looking for work through labor exchanges. Even if these payments are made they will not be able to make a noticeable impression on the majority of Russians' living standard. Nevertheless, about R20 billion—very difficult to find in the budget—is being appropriated for these purposes in February and March.

Government resolutions stipulate improvements in the material and technical base of establishments in the population's social protection system, including the provision of additional premises, trucks, cars, ambulances, and buses. The government proposes transferring CPSU and RSFSR Communist Party monetary assets to accounts held by the corresponding organs of executive power in Russia with the purpose of forming republic and territorial funds for the population's social support. This money has been earmarked first and foremost for orphaned children, the disabled who were affected by the Chernobyl disaster and other ecological disasters, and poor families.

Goskomstat Chairman Holds News Conference

PM1802154992 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 15 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Irina Demchenko report: "Milk Reluctant To Sell at Fixed Prices. It Will Be Turned Into Butter. Results of the Work of Russian Industry for January"]

[Text] A news conference on the theme "The Results of Russia's Socioeconomic Development in 1991 and January 1992" took place at the Russian State Committee for Statistics [Goskomstat] 13 February.

Russian Goskomstat Chairman P. Guzhvin noted that real earnings (the population's purchasing power) fell last year by 10 percent, and national income fell by 11 percent. The retail price index in the fourth quarter of 1991 alone stood at 128 percent (relation of December prices to September prices).

Naturally the greatest interest was in the figures for January, although it is best to approach them with caution. Statistical returns show a process of adaptation to high prices in the first half of the month. Consumers often visited stores to browse rather than with any intention to purchase. The composite retail price index for January was approximately 350 percent, although, as P. Guzhvin explained, this indicator takes account not only of prices in the state trading sector but also of market and cooperative prices. The Russian Federation Goskomstat leader had difficulty naming consumer goods, including foodstuffs, which had increased by only a factor of 3.5, which is the official average indicator. Retail trade turnover for January this year in natural (physical) terms fell by 63 percent.

Wholesale prices jumped far higher, even by comparison with retail prices. Their index increased five-fold. Above all, the price of nonferrous metals and petrochemical products went up (for example, the wholesale price for tires rose by a factor of 23.6). This enormous upsurge was prompted primarily by the fact that wholesale trade lacks the natural constraint of a shortage of cash. Of course, noncash rubles may be in short supply as well, but our salesmen—unused to such things—generally discover this circumstance only after the product has been dispatched to the customer.

There was a 15 percent decline in industrial output volumes for January. Oil production fell by 14 percent (compare this to an 11 percent fall for the whole of 1991). At the same time, there was no reduction—indeed, there was even a marginal increase compared to last January—in the output of oil refining products: diesel fuel, fuel oil, gasoline. This means that the entire drop in the output of our chief export was offset by reducing exports, including to former USSR republics.

In answer to a question from REUTER, P. Guzhvin was at a loss to name a single sector of industry which had not been hit by depression. The situation in the ferrous metallurgical sector is worst of all; in machine-building sectors, things are bleakest for the production of agricultural equipment. In particular, tractor production fell by 49 percent in January and combine harvester production by 14 percent. At the same time, prices for such equipment are so far in excess of effective consumer demand that even this quantity is not completely bought up.

The dairy industry's reaction to the new price policy is highly indicative. Usually in the winter period, the bulk of the gross milk yield is sent to produce whole-milk products, with only around 25 percent going to produce butter and other products requiring longer-term storage. However this January, when fixed prices were established for whole-milk production and prices for butter were free, approximately half of the milk yield was processed into butter. Output of milk, kefir, and so on fell by 46 percent for the republic as a whole. It is characteristic that, for example, in Chelyabinsk Oblast, where although prices for milk are fixed they are still very high at nine rubles a kilogram, this correlation coincides perfectly with the average statistics.

In response to a question from IZVESTIYA on why fixed prices are so high in a number of regions, P. Guzhvin reminded us that in line with a Russian Government decision which was subsequently ratified by parliament, all responsibility for observing government guarantees of living standards for the population was delegated to local organs of power. "The high regulated prices for food products are a matter for the local authorities' conscience," the Goskomstat chairman said. At the same time, he added that resources allocated from the republic budget to subsidize these products are highly inadequate—only 3.5 times the sum allocated to maintain the actual Russian Government and affiliated organs—and sources for financing local budgets have not been definitively specified to this day.

'No Reason To Panic'

PM1802170792 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 18 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Yekaterina Vasilchenko commentary: "Results of 'Abrupt' Change"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Guzhvin [chairman of the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics] has told journalists that there is no reason to panic: The growth in prices in January-February amounted to approximately 350 percent (i.e. 3.5 times) [as published], the purchasing power of wages fell just 10 percent, and exclusively journalists themselves are fanning passions over the upcoming sowing campaign: There are sufficient seeds, equipment, and fuel in agriculture—there are even surpluses. Pavel Fedorovich [Guzhvin] at once parried the journalists' puzzled questions: There is no getting away from it, this is the "statistical average."

And yet dry figures are stubborn. This is how they illustrate the first results of the nineties-model "new economic policy."

Commodity turnover fell 53 percent compared with January last year.

Production fell 11 percent compared with December.

Consumer prices for the main foodstuffs are these: meat—63-86 rubles [R]; butter—R83-90; milk—R1.5-50; potatoes—R4-50. As we see, prices rose more than 3.5 times. This could not be otherwise, if even wholesale prices have increased fivefold. In certain sectors prices have shot up with astronomic speed. For example, a commodity in such short supply as motor vehicle tires has become 24 times more expensive.

The increase in the prices of energy carriers has not yet led to growth in extraction volumes. On the contrary, oil extraction fell 14 percent during January-February. This is more than during the whole of last year (11 percent). Some 6 percent less coal was produced, including 12 percent less coking coal.

Production of steel and cast iron, rolled metal and pipes fell 21-36 percent during January. The drop in oil extraction will continue because of the lack of pipes.

In machine building the position is worst of all with regard to agricultural equipment.

It is these joyless figures that have to be regarded as the first result of the "abrupt" change.

Tax Brings in Only 22% of Expected Sum

OW1502181192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1627 GMT 15 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In January, the VAT [value-added tax] brought the Russian state budget only 9 billion roubles, or 22 percent of what was expected. The excise amounted to 22 percent of the expected sum.

These figures were revealed to the Russian parliament by its Deputy-Chairman Yuriy Voronin. He also informed the deputies about the work of the commission which, at the parliament's request, was trying to find out why the Russian President had not yet signed the taxing laws. Yuriy Voronin stressed that the budget had not received the expected sums for objective reasons and also because the government did not work efficiently enough. This is not because laws are adopted with delays, he said.

Ruble Continues To Rise Against Dollar

PM1902092492 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 12 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 8

[Untitled report by I. Zhagel]

[Text] The latest trading on the currency exchange, which occurred 11 February, produced the following results: The exchange rate for operations stood at 210 rubles [R] to the U.S. dollar, with a total sales volume of $7.38 million.

It is possible to say that the process of raising the ruble exchange rate on the currency exchange is assuming a stable nature. At any rate, it has changed as follows during the past four weeks: R230.1; R230; R224.5; and now, finally, R210 to the dollar.

A week ago, assessing the previous trading results, our newspaper suggested that, if any stability at all were to become apparent in the raising of the ruble exchange rate, it would be possible to expect enterprises to start shedding currency, as every day's delay would mean a drop in the ruble proceeds from selling dollars, marks, and francs. That forecast has been vindicated right now.

For the first time since the exchange has been in existence the volume of applications to sell currency exceeded the 10 million mark and totaled $12.02 million, whereas the volume of applications to buy totaled just $6.64 million. True, part of this $12 million belonged to the Russian Central Bank, but it removed some of its money from sale when it saw that a rise in the ruble exchange rate was guaranteed. Obviously, it is endeavoring to save resources for the next trading session, rightly believing that what is more important is not an abrupt rise in the ruble exchange rate with a subsequent fall but the maintenance of positive trends, albeit small ones.

Committee Favors Freeing Gas, Oil Prices

OW1902123892 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1035 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Russian parliament's Industry and Energy Committee has instructed the Ministry of Fuel and Energy Resources to draft a concept of the national fuel and energy complex's operation under free market conditions. The ministry is expected to name the industries to be supplied with fuel as a matter of priority under the present energy crisis, and ensure a balance of interests between the central and local governments and internal and foreign investors, paying due attention to the current state of intergovernmental relations within the Commonwealth of Indpendent States.

On Tuesday [18 February], an enlarged committee session attended by senior officials of the fuel and energy ministry and leading industrial and trade managers supported the idea of freeing the prices of oil, gas and coal. The session also called for involving foreign firms in the development of Russian deposits of fuel resources on a competitive basis.

Collective Farms' 12 Feb Congress Viewed

LD1402135392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1215 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Sergey Telepnev and Aleksandr Ignatyev]

[Text] Moscow, 12 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Problems with reorganizing Russian collective farms are being debated at the All-Russian Congress of Collective Farms, which opened today.

About 400 representatives of collective farms, agricultural cooperatives and associations, joint stock companies, agrofirms, and other enterprises, as well as lease holders and peasant farmers, are participating.

Anatoliy Vorontsov, All-Russian Council of Collective Farms chairman, delivered a report analyzing the activities of collective farms under the new economic conditions and reporting on the measures that have been worked out to fulfill the presidential decree and Russian Government resolutions on collective farm reform.

Gennadiy Burbulis, first deputy chairman of the Russian Government, addressed the gathering.

Burbulis Addresses Congress

LD1402135892 Moscow TASS in English 1755 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksandr Ignatyev and Sergey Telepnev]

[Text] Moscow February 12 TASS—Russian farmers are free to transform their kolkhozes (state-owned farms) into private farms, equity enterprises and cooperative ventures, First Deputy Prime Minister Gennadiy Burbulis told the All-Russian Congress of Farmers today.

"We want agricultural workers to get involved in creating a diversified farming infrastructure," Burbulis said.

The government will be defending farmers' interests and "regulate" their relations with industrial monopolists, he said.

Government Reform Criticized

LD1402140892 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] The Russian Congress of Collective Farms opened in Moscow today. The country cannot do without the 13,000 collective farms, and the peasants do not want to take land—such were the theses put forward by defenders of the collective farm movement. They showed a good deal of passion today to persuade the government to modify land reform to suit their interests:

[Correspondent V. Golubev] Agrarian reform was the main issue. Vorontsov, chairman of the Council of Russian Collective Farms, who delivered a report, and other speakers, while supporting reform in general, sharply criticized the government, especially local administration, for the methods used in implementing it. The division of peasants into those from colective farms and those from individual farms and the confiscation of land from collective farms are seen as unacceptable. The delegates feel that the administrative style of privatization can lead to famine. It was also said that the liberalization of prices has practically closed access to the market for peasants. After prices became free, they have increased up to 40-fold, whereas prices for agricultural products, which are regulated by the state, have been increased only three- or four-fold. Addressing the congress, First Deputy Prime Minister Burbulis said, inter alia:

[Begin Burbulis recording] The main thing is to reorganize collective and state farms into associations of peasant holding, joint-stock societies, and share-holding cooperative enterprise. Today, it is for the peasants themselves, for the masters of land themselves, to attain this. [end recording]

[Golubev] Proposals on setting up a union of producers of agricultural products; concluding an accord between the peasants and the government; and convening a round table at which peasants, the government, and industrialists can solve the problems of agrarian reform constructively were voiced at the congress.

The congress will continue work tomorrow.

Parliamentarians Criticize Policy

OW1402172992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting of Russian agricultural enterprises in Moscow demanded Friday [14 February] that the government grant equal rights to all forms of ownership in agriculture and earmark 15% of national revenues to agriculture.

Chairman of the agrarian faction in the Russian parliament Mikhail Lapshin criticized the government policy in an IF [INTERFAX] interview, saying "while preventing farmers from standing on their own feet it simultaneously destroys large-scale production." Farmers were cheated, he claims, because "they were forced to sell their grain at former prices, while equipment is being offered them at new ones". According to Lapshin's estimates, the government owes farmers as of today $60 million in foreign- exchange payments only. At the same time, the government provided financing for only 22% of housing construction planned for 1991 and for 37% of social and consumer services facilities construction.

Lapshin called for the setting up of the All-Russian Agrarian Union which would, in his view, enable them "to implement agricultural reforms in the interest of farmers."

Resolution Calls For Selling Gold Abroad

OW1902120592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1035 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Deputy Prime-Minister Yegor Gaydar has signed a resolution calling for the sale of gold produced last year but not yet deposited in the State Depository (Gokhran) in the world market, IF [INTERFAX] has learned from sources close to the Russian government.

This move is intended to help replenish Russia's foreign-exchange reserves, a part of which is to be allocated to the Magadan region and the Republic of Sakha (Yakutia), the biggest gold producers in Russia, where social tensions have been on the increase in the recent months.

Under the resolution, prices at which the state buys the precious metal from gold producers will remain unchanged. Producers in the Magadan region, for example, will continue to sell gold to the state at 508 rubles per gram.

Experts believe that this move notwithstanding the price of gold in Russia will close on the world level as early as the second half of this year and will reach $11-12 per gram.

Supreme Soviet

Further on Hearings on Army's Coup Role

Hearings Summarized

LD1802140592 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1130 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Report by parliamentary correspondent Olga Vasilenko]

[Excerpt] The parliamentary hearings devoted to analyzing the activities of the armed forces leadership in the period of the coup d'etat have just ended here in the Russian Federation's Supreme Soviet building. As is known, a commission of the Ministry of Defense was set up on 5 September to deal with these problems. It worked until 5 November and it was headed by General Kobets. Today the deputies heard his report.

The parliamentary hearings were opened by Marshal Yevgeniy Ivanovich Shaposhnikov. The speeches, based on the study of all kinds of documents and various situations which came about during the three August days and after, were very sharp. Speaking after the end of the hearings, Russian Federation People's Deputy Vyshenkov drew the following conclusions:

The army has always been the weapon of the CPSU and not of the state. The CPSU acted not like a public organization but as the backbone of state bodies. The second conclusion was that the armed forces leadership preserved not just some of its individuals, but entire structures. Someone in the hall even shouted: All structures were preserved. Furthermore, the army was not only the object but also the subject of the policy.

At present the officer's assembly, which was set up not so long ago after a meeting at the Palace of Congresses, lays claims to the role of the subject of the policy. Moreover, the army has no independent military policy of its own. This situation should be changed. Furthermore, the Supreme Soviet should be addressed with the aim of setting up a temporary parliamentary committee which would deal with analyzing and controlling the restructuring of the armed forces.

Such are the conclusions drawn by the people's deputy who was a member of the parliamentary commission on the investigation of the role played by army structures in the putsch. [passage omitted]

Shaposhnikov on Army's Involvement

LD1802123392 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1124 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow, 18 Feb (TASS)—"The involvement of troops in the events of 19-21 August last year forced us to take a fresh view of the armed forces' activity," said Marshal of Aviation Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov, commander in chief of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] united armed forces. He was speaking today during parliamentary hearings into the role of the USSR Defense Ministry leadership in preparing and carrying out the coup d'etat.

The marshal said draft legislative acts have been prepared and presented to the president of Russia which provide for a ban on the use of the armed forces in resolving internal political problems. These same ideas have also been reflected in the new draft general military regulations. "The Armed Forces should be used for defending the state from external attacks, and not against their own people. It is precisely from this standpoint that the reform of the armed forces is proceeding," the marshal of aviation said.

He gave a detailed account of how the directives of the former USSR Defense Ministry had been prepared and put into effect during the August coup. As early as 0600 on the morning of 19 August Yazov held a conference with members of the Defense Ministry collegium, heads of the main administrations, at which he gave instructions for the armed forces to be put on heightened combat alert, with the reservation, it is true, that he "did not want blood." Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov noted the order to use arms against the civilian population and organs of power was not given. The protection of arsenals and bases, hardware and military townlets, and state administrative buildings was stepped up, and joint patrols by Internal Affairs Ministry troops and the Soviet Army were organized.

Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said the troops of the Moscow and Baltic Military Districts were involved in these actions to a greater extent than others, as had the airborne assault troops—both for defending facilities and for the purpose of preventing public demonstrations against the SCSE (State Committee for the State of Emergency), for reinforcing political actions. Yazov issued the directive to introduce a curfew in Moscow and Leningrad.

"The deployment of a large number of armed people and a lot of hardware in a city such as Moscow, with a population of millions, especially in an aggravated political atmosphere, was a crazy thing to do. Were it not for the restraint shown by both the military and civilians there could have been grave consequences," Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov commented. He stated that this act of opportunism cost over 15 million rubles.

Regarding the investigation into the conduct of senior personnel of the former Defense Ministry, Shaposhnikov said testimony from many officials has been analyzed. Some of these documents, he said, were forwarded to the Russian Procuracy. The marshal added that seven deputy defense ministers, 10 [military] district and fleet commanders, and eight commanders of central directorates were relieved of their posts for actions connected with the imposition of the state of emergency. Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov stated that now, if a a situation requires troop redeployments, "this should be sanctioned by the Supreme Soviet or by the president of Russia, and the document requesting it should bear two signatures—that of the commander in chief of the armed forces and the chief of the General Staff."

Shaposhnikov said a number of lessons can be learned from the events in August. The coup organizers were banking on discontent not only among the public but especially among servicemen, hoping that difficulties caused to the army and navy by the economic crisis and ethnic discord would push them toward actively supporting the SCSE. The conspirators, Yevgeniy Shaposhnikov said, overlooked the fact that the army has changed since 1985 and, like everything else, has been affected by the process of democratization. The army did not turn against the people. The composure shown by the majority of soldiers and their measured evaluation of events meant the coup produced an outcome other than that predicted.

Shaposhnikov: Yazov 'A Madman'

LD1802225992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] On 19 August last year, 5,000 servicemen, 50 tanks, and 270 infantry fighting vehicles from the Moscow and Baltic Military Districts were brought into Moscow. The tanks carried their basic loads of ammunition, and some personnel had been issued ammunition. Marshal Shaposhnikov spoke about this at a parliamentary hearing today on the role of the high command of the former USSR Ministry of Defense in preparing and staging the August coup d'etat. The military's participation in the events of 19-21 August cost 2.5 million rubles [R], and R13 million worth of fuel was used up.

Shaposhnikov said former Defense Minister Yazov acted like a madman and that only the restraint of the military helped to avert a more tragic outcome to the events. At the same time, Shaposhnikov added: If Yazov had been with the State Committee for the State of Emergency until the end, then I would not have remained unharmed after meeting with Yeltsin.

Report on Military's Coup Plans

LD1802134992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Report by correspondent V.Kukushkin]

[Text] An open session of the [Supreme Soviet] chambers on the role of the military in the organization of the putsch took place in the Russian Supreme Soviet building today. It became definitively clear that the August coup attempt was not at all puppet-like. From 5 August, large troop contingents were moved not only to the capital but throughout the whole territory of the former Union. The Moscow Military District moved 650 armored infantry vehicles and 350 fully armed tanks into the capital alone. It has been established that all of the generals were carrying out definite instructions on preparations for a putsch but many did not know the true intentions of the plotters. Moreover, Yazov and Kryuchkov deliberately misinformed their subordinates that the president was ill and that the introduction of a state of emergency was essential for order to be maintained.

Konstantin Kobets, adviser to the Russian president, noted that 311 higher officers who actively supported the SCSE [State Committee for the State of Emergency] had already been dismissed. As far as the defenders of the [Russian] White House are concerned, Major Yevdokim was awarded his latest military title on only 9 February after a meeting of democratic forces adopted a resolution on the protection of this officer. All of this is sad, as is the fact that the Supreme Soviet has still not considered legal documents of such primary importance as a law on the army and military doctrine. In my opinion, this might reduce tension among servicemen.

Lopatin Says Army Beyond Civilian Control

OW1802173692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Vladimir Lopatin, member of the commission investigating the ex-USSR Defense Ministry's performance during the August coup, told the Russian parliament on Tuesday [18 February] that "the army is beyond parliamentary or civil control—it is actually turning into a superstructure over the state; as an independent political force it may cause the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] to attempt to break out of the present crisis according to the Yugoslav scenario."

Commission head Gen. Konstantin Kobets told parliament that 316 officers and generals, including 31 top commanders, had been replaced from their posts or dismissed from the armed forces altogether as a result of the investigation. He noted, however, that 50 generals from the number of those who sided with the putschists had not only stayed in power but even received promotions. Among the latter he named Col.-Gen. Pyankov, who had been appointed deputy commander of the CIS armed forces, and Gen. Miruk, appointed first deputy commander of the antiaircraft defense force.

A decision was taken on Tuesday to urge the Supreme Soviet to set up a special parliamentary Committee on Defense and a provisional parliamentary commission to monitor progress in the military reform and control personnel policy in the armed forces.

Shakhray Informs Parliament on Minsk Meeting

OW1802172992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Reporting to the Russian parliament on Tuesday [18 February] on the outcome of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] summit in Minsk, Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray said that the meeting revealed two different approaches to strategic deterrence forces. One is supported by Ukraine and partially Belarus, in whose opinion only nuclear delivery vehicles should be listed among strategic forces. Russia and Kazakhstan look at the matter in a broader way, including in a country's strategic potential any armed force components capable of fulfilling strategic tasks. By now, Russia and Ukraine have coordinated the list of strategic divisions and installations by 70 percent; with the other CIS member states this work is conducted at the level of experts, Shakhray said.

As regards Ukraine's pledge to remove all nuclear weapons from its territory by the end of 1994 and thereby withdraw from strategic forces, S. Shakhray said that "that will not mark its withdrawal from the CIS. The withdrawal and scrapping of nuclear systems depends also on Russia's position, IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] control and other factors."

Armenia's special considerations with regard to strategic forces, boiling down to the idea that the property of strategic forces should be the common property of the CIS member states, were, too, written down into the documents signed in Minsk, Shakhray said.

Asked why Russia showed zero reaction to Ukraine's efforts to deal with internal problems at Russia's expense, e.g., by introducing its own currency and forming its own army, Sergey Shakhray said that political considerations should not stop the channels of economic cooperation.

According to him, even if Ukraine did get its own currency and army, a move that he predicted "will be a good lesson of what should not be done," no break-up would occur between Ukraine and Russia.

Outlining the likely development options for the CIS, the vice-premier predicted that "economic relations will sober up politicians so much that they will hardly ever want to leave the CIS.... The Commonwealth's disintegration will be a 103-percent chance of a military coup on the territory of the former USSR. The only salvation for the CIS in general and Russia in particular will be a solid ruble," Shakhray said and added that the government had decided not to introduce a new Russian currency, now that "a chance—although a slim one—to save the ruble has appeared."

Proceedings for 12-14 Feb Reviewed

LD1302180492

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2020 GMT on 12 February carries the scheduled "At the Russian Supreme Soviet Session" review of that day's proceedings at the Supreme Soviet.

Boris Petrovich Kondrashov, deputy chairman of the committee on legality, law and order and crime prevention, takes the floor to present draft criminal investigation legislation. He stresses the need for the legislation, noting that crime is expanding in Russia.

An unidentified deputy queries Kondrashov about the legislation's clauses regarding telephone tapping and mail opening. Kondrashov explains that the draft envisages such activity only for serious crimes, with procuracy authorization

Deputies then vote on Kondrashov's bill; it passes its first reading with a vote of 92 for, none against and 3 abstentions. A draft decision on the draft law is also approved by the deputies: 88 votes for, none against, 1 abstention.

The chairman then asks Vitaliy Yavovlevich Vitebskiy, deputy chairman of the industry and power engineering committee, to take the floor. Vitebskiy presents a draft bill on the conversion of industry, noting the draft's long history and the alterations made to it as a result of the changes in the country. He stresses that the lack of appropriate legislation is hampering conversion efforts.

Following additional discussion, the chairman puts the draft to a vote at its first reading. It is passed: 76 for, 1 against, 13 abstentions.

The program concludes at 2055 GMT.

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 1733 GMT on 13 February carries a 45-minute edition of its regularly scheduled "At the Russian Supreme Soviet Session" program, including recorded highlights of the Russian Supreme Soviet session in Moscow on 13 February.

The program begins with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov opening the proceedings, followed by a roll call: The Soviet of the Republic registers 102 of 125 deputies present, while the Soviet of Nationalities registers 75 of 121 deputies present.

At 1734 GMT, Russian President Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin is given the floor. He delivers an address on international affairs and his recent overseas visits and answers deputies' questions.

At 1759 GMT, Yeltsin finishes answering questions, and Khasbulatov thanks him. Khasbulatov then hands the floor to Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev.

At 1800 GMT, Kozyrev delivers a report on a Sino-Russian border agreement and asks the Supreme Soviet to ratify the agreement.

Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Committee on International Affairs, then addresses the Supreme Soviet on the same subject. Unidentified deputies then express support for the agreement, noting that it will make life easier for border guards and residents and that the border must continue to be patrolled on the two sides anyway.

At 1810 GMT, Khasbulatov calls for a vote on the agreement. The agreement is passed, as noted in third ref, with 174 voting for, two against, and 24 abstentions.

At 1811 GMT, Deputy Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov is shown in the chair, noting that the next subject on the agenda concerns bank checks for the Russian Federation.

Deputy Pochinok introduces draft regulations on checks, saying that the Russian Supreme Soviet Presidium, which constantly monitors the money issue, decided on 13 January that checks should come into circulation on 20 January. Pochinok holds up a blown-up version of one of these checks so that deputies can seen for themselves. He explains that they are being issued to try and reduce the quantity of hard cash in circulation. Newly printed money accounted for 25 percent of all payments in December, and the printing presses are overheating, Pochinok says. Checks are used in other parts of the world, making hard cash dispensable, he notes. Pochinok then adds that there must be clear rules on checks and that while such rules were adopted in 1929, they are now out-of-date. He suggests that this is a banking responsibility. Since the Central Bank is actually subordinate to the Supreme Soviet, he says, parliament must endorse the rules which have no ideological or political content. Pochinok asks for adoption of the draft regulations without any further debate or amendments.

At 1814 GMT, Filatov calls for a vote on the draft regulations. The regulations are adopted with 166 deputies voting for, three against, and 2 abstentions.

Deputy Pavlov then rises to complain about a three-hour television performance by Israeli artists broadcast on 9 February. He demands an explanation from Deputy Poptsov, head of Russian state television, as two rallies were in progress that day and only one was covered. Khasbulatov replies that Filatov has already issued instructions to Deputy Vyacheslav Ivanovich Bragin, of the Committee on Mass Media, to report on this matter. Bragin shouts from the floor that no date has yet been set for a debate on the issue and that there are a lot of complex questions to be considered. Khasbulatov tells him to hurry up, to which Bragin replies that he will try. The exchange between Pavlov, Khasbulatov, and Bragin was processed as first ref.

At 1817 GMT, the correspondent reports that Deputies Stepashin, Isakov, and Yakunin then debated a report on the workings of the VAT law and that deputies sent a draft law on security back for reworking after a second reading.

At 1818 GMT, the program ends.

Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 2025 GMT on 14 February carries the scheduled "At the Russian Supreme Soviet Session" review of today's proceedings at the Supreme Soviet. The session is chaired by Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet.

Deputy Zakharov explains the Conciliation Commission's amendments on land regulations. This is followed by a debate about the taxation of plot-holders. A vote is taken on the commission's amendments which are approved.

Sergey Aleksandrovich Filatov says the Presidium is proposing that the sixth Congress of People's Deputies be convened on 20 April and it will analyze the progress of economic reform and make adjustments to it. It will also discuss the Russian Federation's new Constitution and the socioeconomic situation of regions in the far north. He urges deputies to support this agenda.

Deputies then put questions to Filatov. One deputy wants a scrutiny of the manner in which previous Congress decisions are being fulfilled. Another wants the issue of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the constitutional implications of its establishment to be discussed at the Congress. A third says he backs inclusion of the CIS Treaty ratification on the Congress agenda. He also suggests more detailed discussion of the economic situation, with specific reference to anticrisis measures and privatization, and says that Russian military policy should also be discussed, adding that the Congress should be held in early April. The announcer notes in a voice-over that 6 April has been chosen as the date for the Congress.

Deputy Tarasov asks that the social, economic, and political situation and the president's report should make up the second item on the agenda.

Khasbulatov then gives his view of the debate so far. He says the adoption of a new constitution is not inappropriate in a time of crisis, as some have alleged. He urges an end to endless discussions surrounding the federal treaty or federal agreement, noting that discussion of the Union treaty led to the collapse of the Union. The affirmation of national self-determination must not come into conflict with human rights, he says. We must not dictate our views in advance to the Congress. Khasbulatov says to objectors to the phrase "the draft constitution" that the agenda can refer simply to "the constitution".

Deputy Lukin then comes to the rostrum and says the results of the Minsk talks are not yet known. He says the impression should not be created that decisions are being made behind the president's back. The president should be asked to report on what happened at Minsk, and this information should be used as the basis of what the Congress is asked to discuss on the CIS issue.

Another deputy then says that the CIS issue is extremely important and must not be dodged at the Congress. Lukin replies that he was not suggesting the CIS issue should be dropped from the Congress agenda.

Another deputy asks a question about reports concerning the theft of humanitarian aid. He says that unverified rumors of this kind tend to be circulated. Yesterday "Vesti" criticized the Memorial organization in this context. He assures deputies that his personal knowledge of the organization suggests the organization is above reproach.

Regional Affairs

Gamsakhurdia Meets With Chechen President

Holds News Conference

LD1902135192 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 19 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] President of Georgia Zviad Gamsakhurdia, who was removed from power, spoke at a news conference in Groznyy on 18 February, following his talks with the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev, and he stated that he intends to try and restore legitimate power in Georgia and will fight for this to the very end.

[Begin recording] [Gamsakhurdia] The state, I do not think that is the way it is, because it is self-appointed power there, the people are not subordinate to them, the state is not subordinate to them, they are fortified simply by force of arms in one place, or rather in several places, so the state is not subordinate to them. You have been giving false information, by the way.

[Correspondent] What could the next steps be; how will the political situation develop in Georgia; what do you think about that?

[Gamsakhurdia] That depends on the world public, and by the way, primarily on Russia. If it does not support this bloody junta, these self-appointed authorities in Georgia, who call themselves authorities, then everything will be OK, and the situation will improve. But if not, then this civil disobedience will continue, you know. It has been declared in Georgia, and by the way I am directing this civil disobedience, and that is how everything will carry on. The Georgian people will not reconcile themselves, or subordinate themselves to imperial forces and their stooges and hirelings.

[Correspondent] A question for President Dudayev. Tell me, why is the Chechen republic receiving President Gamsakhurdia?

[Dudayev] This is a political act, if I can put it like that. We have very many common interests: historical, territorial, geographic, natural. We are linked with the Georgian people by our very nature, by our very lives. And the most ruinous thing that the leaders of any rank can do is to promote the division of this unity. Unity is force, division is weakness, and a future without prospect. We will do everything to unite our efforts, to restore democracy, constitutional rule, and prohibit any bloodshed, which is unacceptable in any normal society. It is unacceptable, it is repulsive that there can be human lives, civil war, and driving one's own people into the plight in which the Georgian people now find themselves.

[Correspondent] And the last question, what is the program for your stay here in the Chechen Republic?

[Gamsakhurdia] Excuse me, but I am in a bit of an unusual situation at the moment, and so I cannot tell you all the details, my plans, for understandable reasons. [end recording]

'Distressed' by World's Stand

LD1802202292 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast—read by announcer Svetlana Sorokina]

[Text] Today Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the overthrown president of Georgia, arrived in Groznyy with his wife. He was met at the military aerodrome by General Dudayev. Talks took place between Dzhakhar Dudayev and Zviad Gamsakhurdia behind closed doors. A news conference was given by Gamsakhurdia at 1800.

Gamsakhurdia gave his first exclusive interview to the "Vesti" program. In it he said that he is distressed by the stands taken by the world's leading states, first and foremost, Russia, which did not taken an official stand on the events in Georgia.

Regarding Gamsakhurdia's visit, Dudayev, president of the Chechen Republic, explained his arrival in the following manner: The Chechen Republic is in favor of justice, so no matter who comes to power in Georgia, the Chechen Republic is obliged to reconcile the conflicting sides, since blood should not be shed among brothers." [quotation marks as received]

Unfortunately, for technical reasons we will only be able to get the video tomorrow. We will show it to you as soon as we have it.

Vows To Fight to 'Bitter End'

OW1802203592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1922 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Zviad Gamsakhurdia, the ousted Georgian president, has said he is planning to press for the restoration of legitimate authorities in Georgia and will fight for that "to the bitter end". He was speaking at a Tuesday [18 February] press conference in Groznyy following his talks with the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev.

Gamsakhurdia denied the rumor that he planned to seek political asylum in Chechen-Ingush. He emphasized that he remained the legitimate president of the democratic Georgia who had to leave his country. Gamsakhurdia planned to return to Georgia, whatever the cost of such a move, "as soon as he could."

He could not disclose his present whereabouts because of the threat of a terrorist act, he said. "I cannot openly say where I am, in order not to play into my enemies' hands," said Gamsakhurdia.

The president described Eduard Shevardnadze, ex-Soviet foreign minister, as "the chieftain of a junta that usurped power in the republic." According to him, Shevardnadze was behind the latest developments in Georgia that forced Gamsakhurdia to leave Tbilisi.

Asked about the Tuesday meeting in Moscow between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and Tenghiz Sigua, head of Georgia's interim government, Gamsakhurdia said that he viewed it as a confirmation of the U.S. policy vis-a-vis Georgia. Baker said that the United States would not recognize Georgia until it reinstated the legitimate government. The president welcomed Washington's position.

Gamsakhurdia denied rumors that he planned to emigrate and emphasized that he would not do that "whatever the circumstances."

He confirmed that some of the nuclear missiles were stationed in Georgia. According to Gamsakhurdia, they are a threat to the neighboring CIS republics and other countries and the entire world.

Accuses Georgia of 'Misinformation'

LD1802223592 Moscow TASS in English 2132 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznny February 18 TASS—"Legitimate Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia is safe and sound, he has not stopped his political activities even for a minute and all this time he has controlled the situation in this state," Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev told a news conference here this evening.

The news conference for local and foreign correspondents involved two speakers: the Chechen president and Zviad Gamsakhurdia.

Gamsakhurdia and his wife Manana arrived in Groznny this afternoon. Until 1800 they had a conversation with Dudayev behind closed doors.

Gamsakhurdia told the news conference he came to Groznny not to seek political asylum. He said he came there as legitimate Georgian president on "a friendlv visit to a friendly state." He also stressed no forces or circumstances can make him emigrate from Georgia.

Asked why he has been hiding, Gamsakhurdia said he had to do it because of "persecution" of him and his supporters by "the junta that had usurped power in Georgia." He said the aim of his visit is to discuss bilateral relations between Georgia and the Chechen Republic. The aim of this meeting with correspondents is to convey the truth about today's situation in Georgia to the world public with the help of mass media, he said.

Gamsakhurdia claimed only misinformation is now broadcast from Georgia on the instruction of the illegal provisional government. In fact, the majority of the Georgian population supports Gamsakhurdia and the legally elected parliament, he said.

The provisional government also has its supporters. However, in the words of Gamsakhurdia, they are mainly "representatives of the mafia, the mob and the Transcausian Military District." He said Eduard Shevardnadze is the head "of the Georgian junta that has seized power by force."

In the words of Gamsakhurdia, he is ready to give correspondents the documents on deliberate misinformation about the situation in Georgia and an act made on his request by the Armenian authorities, saying that Gamsakhurdia took no money or gold from Georgia.

The issue of alleged presence of nuclear warhead rocket launchers in Georgia was raised at the news conference. Gamsakhurdia made no detailed comments on this issue, but said "this fact has been established." In his opinion, the international community should react correspondingly.

Gamsakhurdia decisively refuted accusations of dictatorship. "I was too liberal, and this lead to the outburst of crime in Georgia," he said.

Asked about his plans for the future, Gamsakhurdia noted he intends to fight for the "restoration of legimitate power in Georgia."

Asked whether or not Gamsakhurdia's open arrival in Georgia would consolidate the position of his supporters and when he intends to return home, Gamsakhurdia said he does not want more bloodshed, and many circumstances now prevent him from speaking of specific actions.

Not Planning To Emigrate

LD1802190192 Moscow TASS in English 1820 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sharip Asuyev]

[Text] Groznny February 18 TASS—Zviad Gamsakhurdia said today no forces or circumstances will make him emigrate from Georgia.

"I have come to Groznny not to seek asylum. I have arrived on a friendly visit to a friendly country as legitimate president of Georgia," Gamsakhurdia told a news conference this evening. He attended the news conference together with Chechen President Dzhakhar Dudayev.

Gamsakhurdia arrived this afternoon to Groznny, where he was met by Dudayev.

Leaders' Talks Continue

OW1902115692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1035 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The deposed Georgian President Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the Chechen leader Dzhakhar Dudayev have continued their closed-door negotiations on Wednesday [19 February]. The official news agency CHECHEN-PRESS, the only distributor of information about the meeting, says the parties are discussing the socio-political situation in the Caucasus. They are considering the prospect of forming a Union of Caucasian States that may involve also the Stavropol and Krasnodar territories, as well as the Volgograd and Rostov regions of Russia, and the possibility of forming a pan-Caucasian armed force with time.

Discussing the situation in Georgia, Gamsakhurdia and Dudayev agreed that one of the ways to settle the local crisis would be to send a delegation of the Chechen Foreign Ministry on a peacemaking mission to Tbilisi with a view to preparing Gamsakhurdia's talks with the new Georgian administration.

According to CHECHEN-PRESS, the two leaders are discussing the prospects of political cooperation between Georgia and Chechnya. Dudayev promised to give Georgia economic assistance "as soon as the constitutional government is restored there."

A communique summing up the Gamsakhurdia-Dudayev talks is expected to be issued later on Wednesday.

IF's [INTERFAX's] correspondent believes Gamsakhurdia will leave Chechnya on Thursday. Journalists were told he was "going back to Georgia."

Further on Khasbulatov Visit to Tyumen Region

PM1402151392 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 12 Feb 92 First Edition p 1

[Vladimir Yefimov and Vladimir Kuznechevskiy report: "R.I. Khasbulatov's Trip to Tyumen Oblast"]

[Text] Tyumen greeted Ruslan Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, with a mild frost on the first day of his working visit. One involuntarily wondered: How will people greet the leader of parliament in the conditions of the not at all mild liberalization of prices?

The first meeting took place at the "Kamenskoye" experimental production farm. People shared their thoughts and observations in the Kamenskoye club's small hall. Many people managed to have their say during the two-hour meeting. Were it to be summed up, it could be said that the agro-industrial complex staffers are worried by the most basic things: prices, taxes, mixed feeds. Sovkhoz directors, farmers, and economists from agricultural enterprises took the floor.

"Compared with last year we have increased the price of certain types of our output up to fivefold," a sovkhoz director said. "But after all, industry raised prices of its output not fivefold but by much more. Machinery has started to cost from 200,000 rubles [R] to R1 million. Take, for example, a normal harrow. Last year it cost R12, but now it costs R650. Somehow prices must be regulated so that the peasant does not have to lose the shirt off his back!"

"For how long is our own government going to deceive the peasants?" Skorov, director of the Saltykovskiy experimental production farm, asked indignantly. "They did not honor the checks. Fine. So be it, it is no use crying over spilt milk. If you cannot give machinery, then at least supply grain. Today the press is crucifying us because of our expensive output, onto the price of which the government, headed by the president, has tacked its own 28 percent..."

"It is inappropriate to criticize the president today," Khasbulatov replied. "Specific ministers have set about the reforms, and it is they who must be asked the question."

The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet chairman put the main accent in the conversation with the agro-industrial complex staffers on developing local initiative and autonomy: "The Supreme Soviet and the president are doing and will do everything to untie territories' hands in the socioeconomic sphere."

The oblast's deputy chief of administration noted that currently the province's autonomy is being badly restricted by the credit and financial and tax policies being determined at the center.

Khasbulatov agreed that there is scope for the Supreme Soviet's work here. Nor did the question of mutual relations between the president, parliament, and the government fail to receive attention. Khasbulatov made no attempt to avoid this thorny conversation.

In society we now have two authoritative institutions, he said, the president and the Supreme Soviet. They must not and they cannot work in discord. Otherwise we will make an even greater mess of what is left. Therefore the Supreme Soviet is working in contact with the president. As regards the government, we, of course, will criticize it for its mistakes. But it must be understood that without the province's support the reforms now being implemented are doomed.

Views Conversion, Economic Reform

LD1402220992 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by unidentified correspondent; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Defense conversion is proceeding slowly—creaking along. That is at the center. In the sticks—or in Tyumen Oblast at any event—defense enterprises are restructuring themselves a little faster. At Tyumen Air Engine Association, the largest in the region, 90 percent of the output is for civilian purposes. They are turning out mini-tractors, trailers, mowers, utensils, and other consumer items now in short supply. That is all good, but was it necessary to halt high-handedly a complex industry built up over decades? It could be bad for business—the aviation business, that is. That was the view expressed by Ruslan Khasbulatov at a meeting with a collective at the enterprise. It is hard not to agree with him.

As for economic reform, this is moving ahead difficultly and inconsistently, the head of the Supreme Soviet said. Too many mistakes were made at the very outset of reform. So the Supreme Soviet and the government are seeking the least painful ways of getting rid of them. Here, too, he lamented the fact that the Supreme Soviet had apparently not needed to hand over its powers to form the government. Moreover, it seems the difficulties in Russia have not yet reached their peak. Difficult times await us for the coming two or three months. Therefore, Khasbulatov said, we need coordination and support both in the center and in the sticks.

Another thing: In the words of the parliamentary speaker, sentiments of emnity are frequently intentionally whipped up in Russia. One might suppose this was not said coincidentally. According to reports from local journalists, conservative attitudes are strong at the enterprise and a neo-Bolshevist organization is functioning successfully. In response to the provocative question of whether he shared responsibility for the collapse of the country, Ruslan Khasbulatov replied: Of course I do.

Addresses Union Conference

LD1402183992 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0600 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by unidentified correspondent in Surgut]

[Excerpts] The third regional trade union conference on the north's social and economic problems is taking place here. [passage omitted] The conference began an hour ago. After some procedural matters, Ruslan Imranovich Khasbulatov took the floor. He is still speaking, and I would like to tell you what he said. In the first place, he said that today the idea of social concord—social agreement—is necessary. Right now is not the best time to criticize each other. Incidentally, this also concerned the media, because—as Ruslan Imranovich put it—we have already broken up one state, and now we have started on Russia. This should not be done just now.

Ruslan Imranovich then dwelt in detail on the idea of integration. Now, he said, the whole world is trying to integrate, but we, on the contrary, are rushing toward national isolation. This is a dead-end situation, he stressed. He also said that with regard to human rights, the main rights are economic, that someone living in a region must personally profit from the riches in that region.

He also said it is time to reexamine Russian legislation, that at the moment we are not following the Constitution. A state has ended and a constitution needs to be discussed in all republics as well as in Russia.

What else did he say? Maybe the most interesting thing, and I will end with it, is that today it is necessary to be optimistic. He ended with a joke even, joking that one of the conference's decisions should be to forbid anyone from being a pessimist. [passage omitted]

Notes Problems of Northern Russia

LD1402215592 Moscow TASS in English 1842 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Surgut February 12 ITAR-TASS—Regional trade union conference to discuss problems of northern Russia during its transition to a market economy opened today in the West Siberian city of Surgut. Delegations of 17 northern territories—from Kolskiy peninsula to Kamchatka and Sakhalin—and representatives of Russian ministries and departments as well as people's deputies are taking part in the conference.

Addressing the conference, Chairman of the Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov underscored the importance of a complex solution to the problem of the Russian north, because the well-being of those regions, constituting 64 per cent of the republic's territory with a population of 10 million people, to a great extent depends on the prosperity of all Russia.

The Russian north is going to be one of the leading topics to be discussed in the congress of the Russian people's deputies scheduled for April this year.

Further on Address

LD1402223892 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Report by Aleksandr Tikhonov]

[Text] The conference [on social and economic problems in northern Russia] was opened by Igor Klochkov, chairman of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FNPR]. He stated that seventeen delegations had come to Surgut to represent the interests of the residents of the biggest northeastern areas of the republic. The main aim of the conference is to reach agreement with the government on providing social guarantees to people working in the northern regions. Indeed, it is no secret that today there is little to attract people to the north. While people once rushed there for big money, today its attraction is declining day by day. After all, the average earnings of a northerner are around 5,000 rubles. You will agree that people are earning this kind of money in areas less hazardous to the health. This idea was expressed in virtually every delegate's speech. It was stressed that if the republic's leadership is going to continue to fail to give proper attention to the problems of the north, Russia could lose its economic might altogether, because oil and gas are the raw materials that the republic's treasury uses to obtain hard currency.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov took part in the conference. He called for constructive cooperation between the Supreme Soviet and FNPR. In his opinion, the independent trade unions have made a great contribution to the democratization of our society. Once again, Ruslan Imranovich did not hold back from criticizing the Russian Government, accusing individual ministers of incompetence. However, Khasbulatov did propose that the trade unions support the government's actions, since on the whole the government was striving to implement economic reforms. The Supreme Soviet chairman noted that if the provinces do not support the reforms, then market has a snowball's chance in hell. Nor did the press escape Khasbulatov—he thinks that individual newspapers, magazines, and television programs are malicious, whipping up unnecessary passions. Incidentally, he did not mention radio. All this, in his view, does not help our peoples to unite. The press has already broken up the single state. Now, Khasbulatov went on, the press wants to do the same thing with the Russian state. He proposed that the trade unions become a kind of controller of the press since, and I quote, the press is as seriously unqualified to mock the actions of Russia's top bodies of authority as it is possible to be. Ruslan Khasbulatov also called upon work collectives to renounce strikes, demonstrations, and meetings.

The conference continues Friday. It is possible that final documents will be adopted, on the basis of which it could become easier for northerners to endure the difficulties of life.

Ends Tour of Tyumen Oblast

LD1402224792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 2100 GMT 12 Feb 92

[Text] Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov, who is in Tyumen Oblast, spoke in Surgut today at the opening of a regional trade union conference on problems of the economic and social development of people in the north. He called upon the unions to refrain from strikes, rallies, and demonstrations at this difficult time. It is necessary, Khasbulatov said, to establish a real social partnership and help the government implement reforms. At the same time, the Supreme Soviet chairman sharply criticized the government for mistakes in its economic policy, and, in particular, in freeing prices when they are increasing virtually unchecked. It has to be said this criticism was met with understanding by the union delegates.

In the second half of the day, Ruslan Khasbulatov flew by helicopter from Surgut to one of the northern settlements. In conversations with the inhabitants, he voiced the idea of setting up protected zones—reservations—in the north, which would help preserve the unique natural wealth.

Ruslan Khasbulatov then visited drilling wells and met oilmen. The same day he took part in a conference of heads of the oil and gas industry.

Ruslan Khasbulatov departed for Moscow on 12 February.

Oblast Tour Reviewed

PM1402170092 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 14 Feb 92 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Vladimir Kuznechevskiy, Vladimir Yefimov report: "Ruslan Khasbulatov: Balance of Power Should Be Restored in April"]

[Text] The working visit by the chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet to Tyumen Oblast has ended. In the course of the meeting there were more than 15 official, working visits with the public. The last day of work ended with meetings with deputies from local soviets and a businesslike discussion with leaders of oil and gas industry enterprises. The day had begun with participation in the work of a regional trade union conference on the social problems of the north, to which he was invited by the leadership of the Federation of Independent Trade Unions of Russia [FNPR]. But first things first.

The day before, R.I. Khasbulatov was expected at the Tyumen Motor Building Production Association. At the enterprise, which belongs to the system of plants usually described as the military-industrial complex, the huge auditorium, which was full to overflowing, greeted the guest warmly. However, the first question from the auditorium immediately set the tone for a heated discussion: "Mr. Khasbulatov, why, when the reform mechanism was not properly developed, did the government launch the reform anyway?" The head of parliament smiled and observed that he has not yet gotten used to being called "mister" in an auditorium in our country, thereby prompting approving applause from the hall. The next questions were even blunter. Does Khasbulatov feel personally responsible for the fact that the January price liberalization fell as such a heavy burden on the population? Why did the leader of parliament find himself campaigning alongside the Russian vice president to criticize Yeltsin? Why is the Supreme Soviet doing nothing to curb prices? And so on, and so forth—all in the same spirit.

Khasbulatov answered questions in his characteristic style, instantly without bypassing a single tricky question. Yes, he said, I feel personally responsible. The Supreme Soviet, in my view, acted wrongly when it gave the president full powers to form the government. But the Supreme Soviet is in no way encroaching on his powers. Those powers are great, and that is as it should be. But circumstances have developed in such a way that the functions of forming the government and monitoring its activity have been taken on by other people in the president's entourage. The Supreme Soviet cannot agree to that. It has turned out that certain government members have begun experimenting with reform. And that is intolerable, since the experiment is being carried out on the population. This applies first and foremost to prices. Prices cannot be unregulated. Nowhere in the world has free prices like ours, not even the developed countries of the West. We have found we are unable to control the producers in the sphere of pricing. It is the ordinary citizen who suffers. The Supreme Soviet should protect its voters. Obviously in April, at the Sixth Congress of People's Deputies, Khasbulatov said, we should restore the balance of power and, if necessary, remove certain experimenters from the government.

But that does not mean that we in the Supreme Soviet agree with slogans calling for the government's resignation, the parliament speaker stressed. We do not look at it that way, nor should we. On the contrary, in present conditions it is necessary to support the government in its efforts to complete the reform, but at the same time to keep an eye on it and warn it against mistakes.

As for attempts to identify his own line of conduct with A. Rutskoy's position, Khasbulatov swept aside this claim very sharply, stressing that he has no differences with the Russian president, and has had none. Personally, Ruslan Imranovich said, I simply do not consider it possible to attack Yeltsin. In present conditions, to criticize the president is to weaken the state and finish the job of wrecking what we have not already wrecked. This is simply intolerable. I do not understand A. Rutskoy at all, Khasbulatov said—how the vice president can reject the president's policy and yet continue to exercise his functions. This could not happen anywhere else in the world.

The Supreme Soviet chairman's meeting with participants in the regional trade union conference in Surgut was equally heated. In an unambiguous reference to the suspicious attitude that exists in the corridors of power toward attempts by the trade unions to interfere in politics, the parliament speaker said that this does not apply to the Supreme Soviet. He pointed out that since the earliest days of their existence parliament and the FNPR have cooperated actively, and therefore they must stay together in these times, which are not the best times, and not demand from each other things they know are impossible. It would be more expedient to talk about a social contract with the Russian leadership, a kind of social pact. And then the trade unions can intervene in politics. You should help us to control prices. After all, in present conditions, what is the point, for producers, of seeking to expand production: In the conditions of total shortages, they can dictate what prices they like, and improve their own position in that way. "But that kind of financial policy takes us farther away from the market, not closer to it. And you, the trade unions, keep quiet, as if everything was going the way it should... Some people are trying to influence me through the newspapers and through the journalists who are in their pay. I will not name names, let this be a warning to them..."

Late in the evening Khasbulatov had a confidential meeting with general directors of oil and gas extraction enterprises. Here in Tyumen they call these people the "oil generals," referring to their real significance and weight in the region's economy. The Tyumen "shaykhs" have a vital interest today in securing the backing of centralized material and technical resources, because they are well aware that escape from collapse is possible today only through a significance increase in credit emission. And the support of the Supreme Soviet and its leader on this point is extremely important to them. Khasbulatov also makes no secret of his position, realizing that oil is not only a raw material, it is politics. "From the outset I told Boris Nikolayevich," he said in Surgut, "that oil should not be governed by ministers, it must be taken under presidential control."

Judging by the persistence with which Khasbulatov pursues the idea that parliament should regain control over the government's activity, even going so far as to remove from its composition "certain experimenters who do not know life," a trial of strength between parliament and some of the president's entourage could take place in April at the Sixth Congress. And that means that the next two months could be a period of acute struggle over the interpretation of the ways and means of implementing economic reform, and this could ultimately lead to some personnel reshuffles in the government. This casts a clearer light on the main aim of the recent tours of the country by the leader of parliament:

He is checking out the conclusions he reached in January. Judging by the meetings held on Tyumen soil, these thoughts are meeting with support among many strata of voters. However, this support is not unconditional.

In the meetings, the population supports Ruslan Imranovich personally, without giving any thought to who—what official—they are giving that support to. They see him primarily as a representative of the central authorities, without differentiating between the authorities. Characteristically, at all the meetings with him, without exception, those who are most active are first and foremost representatives of the executive authority—heads of administration at all levels—and top people in the economic sphere (general directors, sovkhoz directors, and so forth). The vast majority of the meetings took place in the buildings of soviets at all levels, although a simple count of the speakers shows that out of every five speakers only one represents the soviets, while four are representatives of the executive and organizational sphere. And they raise questions from their own specific sphere of activity, questions falling within the competence of the government and the presidential structure and requiring individual and speedy resolution.

In short, people do not yet divide the authorities into the legislative and the executive. To give Khasbulatov his due, he sees this, understands it, and senses it, taking upon himself only what relates to the legislative authorities, and elegantly and sophisticatedly readdressing all other questions to the government.

To all appearances, our society still has a very long way to go to the day when the Legislator, in the population's eyes, will be perceived specifically as the Legislator, and the executive authority as the executive. It only remains to hope that the tours of the country by the chairman of the Russian parliament, his meetings with people, and the coverage of these working contacts in the mass media will help to reduce that distance in the development of our citizens' political maturity.

Chechen President Protests Yeltsin Decree

OW1402182792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The leader of the Chechen Republic Dzhakhar Dudayev says he has information that a decree on the situation in Chechen-Ingushetia was discussed in a closed session of the Russian Supreme Soviet. According to Dudayev the bill provides for the division of Chechen-Ingushetia into Chechniya and Ingushetiya. The return of the rural region of Northern Ossetia where the people of Ingushetiya lived until they were deported in 1944 was also proposed. However this would take place only if Ingushetiya remains part of Russia. To compensate, South Ossetia which currently belongs to Georgia, would be given to North Ossetia.

Dudayev stressed that the Chechen Republic would protest this law if it is passed as "making decisions like these behind peoples' backs is unacceptable". The Chechen leader added that there are a fair number of Russian state security agents (KGB) who "are preparing various terrorist acts". Dudayev called on the people to maintain the peace and not submit to provocation.

Chechen Republic Plans Own Currency

LD1702223892 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 17 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] The Presidential Council of the Chechen Republic has adopted a decision to examine the issue of introducing a Chechen currency in the republic. The equivalent of one ruble will be called a som and 10 rubles a tyum.

Chechen Parliament Amends Presidential Law

LD1602143392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] The Chechen parliament adopted a decision on amendments and additions to the law on the Chechen president's activities. Correspondent Ruslan Nashkhoyev reports:

[Nashkhoyev] It was adopted primarily because of the creation of the vice presidential post, which remains vacant. The decision notes that a citizen of the Chechen Republic must be between 35 and 65 and must have voting rights to be elected vice president. While assuming office, the president and vice president of the Chechen Republic swear an oath on the Koran in the republican parliament. If the president resigns, dies, or cannot carry out his duties, the vice president assumes the Chechen Republic president's duties. If they both cannot carry out their duties, the chairman of parliament, the supreme legislative body, becomes the head of the Republic.

Chechenya Issues Ultimatum to Civil Servants

LD1702170592 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1530 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] The parliament of the Chechen Republic has given its citizens the option of taking republican citizenship or giving up their executive posts within the structures of the state. It is sufficient to make a simple entry in one's passport to become a citizen of Chechnya.

Attacks on Chechen Army Units 'Provocation'

PM1802153592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Report by Ali Kazikhanov: "Groznyy: Tension Persists"]

[Text] The situation in the Chechen Republic remains tense. On the afternoon of 9 February there was a national rally which lasted till late, despite heavy snow.

The participants were demanding that those who incited people to crime should be identified and named, and that the crime wave which has hit Chechnya should be stopped.

The Chechen Republic Prosecutor's Office has instituted criminal proceedings in connection with the attacks on military units and an investigation is in progress. Guarding of military subunits has been stepped up.

Member of Parliament Iysa Arsemikov told me that people were incited to attack military units, having been told that Russia was preparing to storm the Chechen Republic and they had to find weapons to defend themselves.

"The provocation was effective and carefully planned," Chechen Republic President Dzhakhar Dudayev told me in an interview. "It was the work of the old guard, under the leadership of the Russian center. Despite my repeated proposals to the Russian leadership and Armed Forces Supreme Command, nothing has been done about a discussion of the question of the presence of forces in Chechnya."

Talks Planned on Dagestan-Chechen Friction

PM1902104792 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 8 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent Ali Kazikhanov report: "Dagestan Prepares for Talks with Chechnya"]

[Text] Makhachkala—An alarming situation is developing in Dagestan.

A group of 70 officials from the Russian MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] has finally arrived in the republic to investigate the recent spate of terrorist attacks on deputies and republic leaders. I was told by the Dagestan MVD that the appearance of such a large group of investigators is seen by the Chechen-Akkin living in Khasavyurtovskiy Rayon as an attempt to use force against the neighboring Chechen Republic. Chechen-Akkin representatives have said they will respond by blockading the Khasav-Yurt City Militia Department. However, talks have calmed the sides down.

The situation remains tense around Aukhovskiy (Novolakskiy) Rayon, which the Chechen-Akkin have been trying to get back for many years. The Dagestan parliament's recent adoption of a positive decision on this question, expected to remain in force for several years, had apparently taken the heat out of the situation. But now the republic is awash with fresh rumors that the rayon is going to be forcibly seized by its former owners. The rumors are groundless, but the dual citizenship taken by Chechen-Akkin, appeals to the leadership of the neighboring Chechen Republic for voluntary incorporation, numerous applications by young people to join the Chechen Guard, robbery of Dagestan trains traveling through Chechnya, and cases where whole flocks of sheep have been driven into neighboring territory give the people of Dagestan reason to treat these rumors seriously.

It is now known that a government delegation has been formed to negotiate all these problems with Chechen President Dudayev.

The newspaper DAGESTANSKAYA PRAVDA has carried an article by Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet Chamber of Nationalities, in which he strongly criticizes the situation in the republic, where "heads of gangs and mafiosa clans are thirsting for power, creating an intolerable situation in Dagestan."

Dagestan Experiences 'Acts of Political Terror'

PM1902162092 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 18 Feb 92 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by Ali Kazikhanov: "Political Killings in Dagestan"]

[Text] Makhachkala—A burst of small arms fire from a passing car killed Magomed Suleymanov, cochairman of the "Democratic Dagestan" movement.

The orgy of crime as a result of the flood of weapons into the republic and the vacillations of the law-enforcement organs has not yet reached its critical phase in Dagestan, local observers believe. Increasingly criminal offenses are getting mixed up with the acts of political terror that are being committed in the mountain region in a purposeful manner and with metronomic regularity. Last year and this January there were attacks on Prime Minister A. Mirzabekov (three times), RSFSR Constitutional Court member G. Gadzhiyev (twice), State Planning Committee Deputy Chairman A. Akavov, and Trade Minister V. Gazhiyev, involving the use of explosives and hired killers.

The murder of Magomed Suleymanov, chief physician at the republic diagnostic center, is seen as a continuation, if not intensification of the acts of intimidation against politicians advocating democratic transformations.

Local observers doubt whether the killers of the "Democratic Dagestan" movement cochairman will be found, because none of the previous crimes has been solved and the criminals have not been identified.

North Ossetia Prolongs State of Emergency

LD1702140392 Moscow TASS in English 1312 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz February 17 TASS—A session of the North Ossetian parliament today prolonged the state of emergency on the territory of the suburban district and in the capital of the republic until April 19, 1992.

According to a statement made during the session by North Ossetian Interior Minister Major General Georgiy Kantemirov, the criminogenic situation has aggravated sharply of late on the borders of the republic. This is explained by the fact that there are now more than 1.5 thousand runaway criminals in the North Caucasian region, who benefit by political instability and interethnic tension in the Caucasus to perpetrate their evil deeds.

"The situation is also being destabilised by the calls of Ingushetian extremists, who lay claim to the suburban district and the right-bank part of Vladikavkaz, now belonging to North Ossetia," the general noted. He said it was necessary to pool the efforts of all the region's law enforcement bodies in light of the prevailing situation so as to combat crime in a properly organised way.

Military 'Specialists' Head for South Ossetia

OW1402194792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Informed sources in Vladikavkaz told INTERFAX that ten volunteer members of the Russian Legion which was formed at the recent Congress of Civic and Patriotic Forces in Moscow, have left Vladikavkaz en route to Tskhinvali, the center of South Ossetia.

The legionnaires are military specialists and will operate Ossetian military technology. They left for Tskhinvali unarmed.

The group's leader, a member of the Central Soviet of the National Republican Party of Russia Sergey Maltsev told INTERFAX that following the December referendum in South Ossetia the Congress of Civic and Patriotic Forces considers the situation in the region part of Russia's internal affairs. The majority of those participating in the referendum supported the union of South Ossetia with Russia. However the Georgian population of the region did not vote in the referendum.

During the night of February 14 Tskhinvali again came under fire from the Georgian villages of Nikozi and Tamarasheni. There were no casualties.

Tatar Democrats Protest Congress Disruption

OW1902120392 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1035 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A meeting of representatives of "Soglasiye" ("Concord"), Tatarstan's multi-ethnic movement, and the coordinating council of democratic forces of Tatarstan have protested against the beating of delegates to the Congress of Democratic Forces in Kazan on February 15. The statement they issued demands that "organizers, instigators and participants of mass unrests be brought to justices" along with all officials responsible for the maintenance of law and order.

The statement notes that "unlawful activities of nationalists have become possible with the connivance of the authorities and law-enforcement bodies of Tatarstan and Kazan".

The statement was signed by representatives of 15 parties and movements of Tatarstan, including the Republican Party and the Organization of Communists of the Republic of Tatarstan, the People's Party-Free Russia, the Democratic Party of Tatarstan, the Slavic Club, the republican organization of the Russian Democratic Party etc.

Mig-23 Interceptor Crashes in Far East

LD1702143392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] A TASS correspondent has reported from Vladivostok today about an accident involving a Mig-23 air defense interceptor fighter. The plane broke up not far from the Far East town of Spassk-Dalnyy [Maritime Kray]. Fortunately there are no casualties or damage. The fighter fell a long way from populated areas.

The pilot, Captain Nikolay Shudarev, managed at the last moment to eject from the plane. On landing he had no significant injuries. A commission has been set up in connection with the incident. The causes are being investigated. A technical fault in the engine is conjectured.

International Affairs

Kravchuk Appeals to Yeltsin on 'Hijacking'

LD1802235192 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 2230 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Text] Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a sharp statement in connection with the unsanctioned flight of six bombers to a military airfield on the territory of Russia. A telegram to the Russian president says that the hijacking of the combat aircraft may give rise to a whole chain of negative phenomena. Kravchuk asked the president of Russia to give a political and legal appraisal of these unlawful acts and to adopt measures to return the transgressors and the equipment.

Thanks Regiment for Stance

LD1802154792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1305 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By unidentified UKRINFORM-ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Kiev, February 18 (TASS)—Ukraine President Leonid Kravchuk has thanked the regiment for its position of principle over the unlawful actions of those who flew six combat aircraft from the Starokonstantinovo military airfield to Russia without permission.

Today's edition of NARODNAYA ARMIYA [The People's Army], a Ukrainian Defense Ministry newspaper, carries an appeal by the personnel of the Starokonstantinovo garrison to the president and defense minister of Ukraine, in which they express their indignation over that extraordinary event. They ask the president not to disband the unit but to confer upon it the title of "1st Bomber Aviation Regiment" and award a banner bearing the state emblem of Ukraine.

Kravchuk Denies Abandoning CIS for 'Triangle'

LD1802180692 Moscow TASS in English 1621 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Babenko]

[Text] Warsaw February 18 TASS—"We shall not abandon one treaty in favour of another," Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk told Polish newspaper STANDAR MLODYH, referring to allegations Kiev expressed its interest in joining the "triangle" of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Ukraine must seek cooperation within the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] to strengthen its independence, he added.

At the same time Kravchuk said Ukraine wanted to develop cooperation with all the countries. "We have not considered the alliance with the three European countries on the state level," Kravchuk said.

Poland Reacts

LD1802202792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Excerpts] It seems that Kiev does not really believe in the future of the Commonwealth of Independent States. It wants to join the so-called Visegrad triangle. This was announced a few days ago by Dmitro Pavlychko, chairman of the foreign committee of the Ukrainian parliament. The Visegrad triangle is an informal alliance of Hungary, Poland, and Czechoslovakia, named for the ancient Hungarian town of Visegrad, where Vaclav Havel, Lech Walesa, and Jozsef Antall met last year. Yevgeniy Chernykh reports:

[Begin Chernykh recording] After the disintegration of the socialist camp these three states decided to coordinate their policy in the areas of the economy, defense, foreign trade, and other issues. It was the alliance of the three that actively sought the dissolution of the military alliance of the Warsaw Pact. [passage omitted]

What is the reaction to an open proposal from Ukraine to join their tight ranks? The Polish Ministry of Foreign Affairs has declared that the joining by Ukraine in the triangular alliance is not possible at present, because Ukraine is at a different stage of post-communist changes. Its admittance to the three would complicate the joint policy of the three states with regard to the European Community. [passage omitted]

President Holds Minsk Summit News Conference

LD1802170292 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] Today Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk held a press conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists. Attention of those present was focused on the problems of the Commonwealth of Independent States and the outcome of the latest meeting of the leaders of the Commonwealth member states in Minsk. As is known, seven countries arrived at the conclusion that they should have combined armed forces, but Ukraine and several other republics did not agree with such a decision. President Kravchuk underlined that the decision of the seven countries to have combined armed forces has little perspective. There can be no single army for 12 sovereign states, said President Kravchuk.

Sharply debated was also the issue on the distribution of the property of the former USSR abroad. As of late, not only Ukraine but Asian republics as well show their dissatisfaction with the fact that Russia protracts the solution of this problem. Leonid Kravchuk in particular said that Russia arrived at a conclusion that it can not take decisions on this question unilaterally; therefore, a resolution was taken to entrust corresponding state structures to map out a declaration or any other document and adopt it on 20 March in Kiev.

While answering the question on the authenticity of the rumors to the effect that Ukraine, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland are going to set up a new union, Leonid Kravchuk indicated that such a question has never been discussed, although he said Ukraine, as a European state, has an intention to participate in all European structures, the Council of Europe included. Ukraine will not join any military blocs, said Leonid Kravchuk.

As is known, the next summit meeting of the Commonwealth of Independent States will be held in Kiev on 20 March. The journalists were eager to know what military issues will be discussed at the Kiev summit. Answering their questions, President Kravchuk pointed out that the issue on the Black Sea naval fleet was not discussed in Minsk due to unpreparedness of the documents which were to be elaborated by a commission set up in Moscow; therefore, the Black Sea naval fleet issue has been postponed until 20 March. However, in Minsk such important questions were resolved as social protection of servicemen and logistic supply of the armed forces, said President Kravchuk.

Touching upon the Crimean issue, Leonid Kravchuk indicated that he sees only one way to solve it: The Crimea will be part of Ukraine, otherwise this would mean violation of the Helsinki Agreement, pointed out President Leonid Kravchuk at a press conference in Kiev.

Efforts To Preserve Joint Army 'Useless'

PM1802162292 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 14 Feb 92 p A11

[Anders Steinvall report, incorporating undated Kiev interview with Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov: "The World of Soviet Soldiers Is Collapsing"]

[Excerpt] Kiev—[passage omitted] The Soviet Union no longer exists. But the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], which has replaced the old union, is still far from through with the division of the property.

The most dangerous thing is left—the division of the armed forces. Strong forces want to retain common defenses for the CIS, but disintegration of the 3.5-million-man army now seems unavoidable.

"All attempts to preserve a common army are useless, if you take the political realities into account," Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov said in an interview with DAGENS NYHETER.

Morozov, an air force general who is himself a Russian, is one of the central figures in a drama which the rest of the world is following with growing concern.

Ukraine, now an independent state with over 50 million inhabitants, has decided on a rapid buildup of its own armed forces. This has led to increasingly acrimonious relations with Russia, which has 150 million inhabitants and controls the largest part of the old Soviet state's military and economic resources.

The conflict has focused above all on the Black Sea Fleet, to which Ukraine has laid claim but which Russia and the other CIS members want to keep under joint control.

Pessimists see the risk of a devastating civil war between two large nuclear states coming ever closer.

"I am convinced that we will find a compromise. The conflict has been blown up artificially," Morozov said.

Nevertheless, the row over the Black Sea Fleet, which has its home base in the Ukrainian port of Sevastopol on the Crimean Peninsula, and Ukraine's military ambitions have been the flame that has triggered many explosive outbursts from high-ranking officers.

At a stormy meeting in the Kremlin a month ago, the majority of the 5,000 officers present demanded that the armed forces be kept under joint control.

An opinion poll among these officers showed that 71 percent want to restore the Soviet union which the politicians have abolished.

However, Morozov is not frightened by these threatening noises.

"This is a continuation of the old political line. First people tried to preserve the communist party, they they tried to preserve the union. And now, in the face of all sober thinking, they want to preserve the united army."

Together with four other members of the CIS—Belarus, Moldova, Azerbaijan, and Uzbekistan- Ukraine has decided to set up its own armed forces.

It is unclear how large the Ukrainian army will be. There has been talk of everything from 100,000 to 400,000 men.

Ukrainian leaders are trying to reassure the rest of the world by pointing out that what is happening is actually large-scale disarmament. The Soviet forces on Ukrainian territory total around 1.5 million men.

In January the process of transforming the Soviet units into a Ukrainian army began. All soldiers and officers were ordered to swear an oath of allegiance to Ukraine.

The decision caused conflict, because the majority of officers are Russian and the conscripts come from all the former Soviet republics.

However, when it came to the crunch, the drama failed to materialize. So far 90 percent of officers—with the exception of the Black Sea Fleet—have sworn their loyalty to the independent Ukraine.

"The majority of our officers support the political realities with which we are surrounded. Over 350,000 men have already sworn the oath," Morozov said. [passage omitted]

National Affairs

President Notes Anxiety in Crimean Situation

LD1802170592 Kiev Radio Kiev in English 2200 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] A briefing was given today by Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk. Great attention was centered on the present political situation in the Crimea. The development of events there are evoking serious anxiety on the part of Ukraine's leadership in connection with the stepping up of separatist moods in that region. Certain political forces in this autonomous republic are taking advantage of them in order to cast doubt on the legal belonging of the Crimea to Ukraine.

The collection of signatures continues on the peninsula for holding a referendum. Being stepped up at the same time are actions of those who are against this referendum. Among them is the local organization of the people's movement Rukh, the movement Democratic Forum of the Crimea, the organization of the Crimean Tatar National Movement, and thousands of people who have grown tired of the fruitless political actions and want the politicians to finally leave them alone and calm down themselves.

Almost 80% of Servicemen Pledge Allegiance

OW1802175192 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1643 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukrainian Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov appealed to military servicemen and army and navy veterans on Tuesday [18 February] to say that "Ukraine's active and consistent efforts to form armed forces of its own should not frighten our neighbors or any other foreign states." He said the republic's peaceloving policy was vividly reflected in its laws proclaiming the principle of defensive sufficiency.

The minister said nearly 80% of the military stationed in the republic, as well as many reservists, had pledged allegiance to the Ukrainian people.

Kharkov Oblast Reservists Swear Allegiance

LD1602000392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 2100 GMT 15 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Ukraine is continuing to take more and more fresh steps to create its own army.

[Begin recording] [Correspondent V. Pidchenko] In Kharkov Oblast today about 10,000 servicemen in the reserves swore an oath of loyalty to Ukraine. It has been decided that such acts will be performed before the fall of this year in places commemorating combat glory.

Will this second oath bring any benefits to men in the reserves?

[Yu. A. Klykin, Kharkov Oblast military commissar] Certainly not, but it will be registered in their military record that they swore the oath of allegiance to the people of Ukraine. [end recording]

Paper Allocation Said Used To Curb Opponents

MK1402131592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 14 Feb 92 p 3

[Article by Vladimir Kuleba, chief editor of Ukraine's NEZAVISIMOST: "'Democratic Press in Ukraine? That's a Bluff!' Vladimir Kuleba, Chief Editor of NEZAVISIMOST, Ukraine's Most Influential Newspaper, Claims"]

[Text] Kiev—Immediately after the putsch all Ukrainian republic newspapers left without material support rushed to find themselves a new source of sustenance. They soon found one—former Ukrainian Communist party Central Committee organs became "independent" newspapers under the Cabinet of Ministers. They were promised paper, organizational equipment, and luxurious premises. Ukrainian Prime Minister Vitold Fokin, holding conferences with these newspapers, emphasized the need for consolidation and unity in conditions where the "Moscow press and television are distorting the facts."

A transformation worthy of Bulgakov was observed in the case of the former Communist Party newspapers. Yesterday they would pillory opposition deputies and today they print half-page pictures of them. However, newspapers as always reflect life. And life in the Ukrainian parliament improved and became more cheerful. Particularly after all deputies got an automobile each and a set of industrial goods (at the old "state" prices) on the initiative of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Our newspaper also spoke about this, causing not only Fokin but also Kravchuk to grow angry and swear. However well they exercised their verbal skill, they were unable to deny a series of articles under the rubric "They Do What is Best For Them"—every article was, after all, accompanied by copies of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet documents.

It reached the point where, speaking live, Kravchuk advised that "a new editor be chosen." An election was held. The result was that the editor remained the same. Then, evidently, a decision emerged from within the apparatus to crush the newspaper economically. This campaign was preceded by the appropriate ideological preparations, as a result of which the Ukrainian people should have gotten the idea that "Yeltsin will not give Ukraine any paper." M. Poltoranin, whom Kravchuk almost declared to be his personal enemy, also came in for criticism. Forgive the president, Mikhail Nikiforovich.

Suddenly—my God!—there came the unexpected news that the Ukrainian Ministry of the Economy had deigned to do newspapers a great favor. It turned out that this ministry, with enviable enterprise, had bought up 100,000 tonnes of newsprint back in October. And 2 million tonnes had been allocated. Prime Minister Fokin distributed it personally.

I personally thought that he was guided by the fact that various publications had supported the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Former Communist party, now Ukrainian Communist Party newspapers received (at speculative prices) between 600 and 300 tonnes of paper each. Our newspaper was an outsider on the prime minister's distribution list—it was given 50 tonnes (51 tonnes are needed to produce just one issue).

The new Ukrainian leadership firmly set about suppressing the press which opposed the government and the president. Time after time, in publishing articles about the current republic leaders playing the national card, we confronted them with the dilemma: Whether to deny or admit it. Home truths are unpalatable, and they would so like to gag NEZAVISIMOST journalists in retaliation. These were journalists who during the putsch assumed greater responsibility than many of the current statesmen who won fame amid deputies' special clearance sales and allocations [na ristalishschakh deputatskikh spetsrasprodazh i raspredeleniy].

The latest issue of our newspaper carries an article about Sevastopol. NEZAVISIMOST's correspondent concludes not very patriotically at the moment that it is inadvisable to nationalize the Black Sea Fleet. The newspaper issue was followed by a telephone call—the Ukrainian Ministry of Communications warning that prices will rise by a factor of 20 in February.

Or by a factor of 1,000. We have no intention of repenting and fawning.

Rukh Outlines Demands for Economic Revival

AU1902111592 Kiev NARODNA HAZETA in Ukrainian No. 3 (32), Jan 92 p 2

["Statement by the Ukrainian People's Movement [Rukh] With Regard to the Ukrainian Government's Actions in the Economic Sphere"; date not given]

[Text] In connection with the government's actions in the sphere of price policy and economic reform, we find it necessary to point out that the manifold increase of prices that has been implemented has nothing to do with the beginning of the transition to a market economy and is meant to make up for the state structures' poor economic management at the expense of Ukraine's working people. The terms "liberalization" and "free prices" that have been used are, in this case, wrong, since they signify entirely different things and processes.

As things stand at present, the state monopoly on the means of production has, in fact, been maintained, as has the department monopoly on manufacturing individual types of products. Under such conditions, the administrative act of increasing prices by several times will only lead to a decrease in production, to a reduction of the gross national product, and, as a consequence, to a further deterioration in the Ukraine population's standard of living.

The introduction, against this background, of the Ukrainian National Bank's coupons is a positive phenomenon intended to protect the state's consumer market. However, as long as they are linked to "ruble" prices and are used alongside rubles, it is impossible to avoid hyperinflation with the ruble coupons themselves.

We see a way out of such a situation through the following measures:

—the urgent removal from circulation of rubles [rubli] and their complete replacement with ruble-coupons [karbovantsevi kupony], as a transitional stage to the introduction of a national currency;

—after the removal of rubles from circulation, an administrative reduction of prices and the implementation of state control over state prices in the state trade of the products of state enterprises;

—the adoption, during this month, by the Supreme Council of laws on destatization, privatization, demonopolization, and the reform of organs of local government;

—the creation, for a short period of time, of structures and mechanisms that will ensure the strict fulfillment of the aforementioned laws and the formation of competent organs of power.

Only such steps may mark the beginning of an actual transition to market relations and may create a foundation for the social protection of broad strata of the population.

It is obvious that today's Cabinet of Ministers is incapable of implementing such a transition; it has already exhausted its credit of confidence. The only step it can take that will find general approval is a statement of resignation. Otherwise, the Cabinet itself will become a source for intensifying social tension and a guarantor of the formation of an explosive situation.

A new Cabinet of Ministers created on the recommendation of the president elected by the people of Ukraine must guarantee a transition to a new Ukraine—a state of market relations, democracy, economic prosperity, and social justice.

[Signed] Ivan Drach, chairman of the Ukrainian People's Rukh

Belarus

Ministry Supports Yeltsin on Black Sea Fleet

LD1802164992 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1338 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Politics" section: "Belarus Supports Yeltsin on the Black Sea Fleet Issue"—POSTFACTUM headline]

[Text] Minsk—Acting defense minister of Republic of Belarus: Belarus is not a marine power and supports Yeltsin's stand on inclusion of the Black Sea Fleet into CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] strategic forces. [sentence as received]

On February 17 acting Belarussian Defense Minister Colonel General Petr Chaus told PF [POSTFACTUM] that the Defense Ministry of the republic pays special attention to social rights and protection of servicemen. The personnel of the Belarussian Defense Ministry will be numerically bigger than the Belarussian Military District Administration, said Petr Chaus.

Commenting on the rumors that 6 SU-24M airplanes that flew from Ukraine to Russia and allegedly landed at the air force base near Minsk on February 6, Petr Chaus said: This was not expedient for the planes of such a class.

Prime Minister Comments on Armed Forces

LD1202201892 Moscow TASS in English 1836 GMT 12 Feb 92

[By BELTA-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kryzhanovskiy]

[Text] Minsk February 12 (TASS)—"The question of Armed Forces is the corner stone of the brittle Commonwealth, and if, at this meeting, we fail to resolve the problem of financing the Army and defining the future structure of the armed forces, the very existence of the Commonwealth of Independent States will be called in question," Belarussian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich said in his address to a division of the Belarussian National Guard on the eve of the Commonwealth summit meeting in Moscow.

The head of the Belarussian Government noted that despite numerous statements concerning considerable cuts in Armed Forces, it is not yet clear when, how and at whose expense these cuts are to be made. The financial situation in the Belarussian Republic and the Commonwealth as a whole has reached a critical point, Kebich stressed.

"Under these conditions, the Belarussian Government has to muster additional resources to support the Army. For instance, by changing the concept of producing military goods. Probably, it will be more profitable to take up conversion and sell surplus weapons, above all machinery which is deployed in foreign countries to which we supplied arms for hard currency, and use the currency generated in this way to buy goods we need. [Moscow TASS International Service in Russian at 1459 GMT on 12 February renders this sentence as: "Probably, it will be more profitable not to take up conversion but to sell surplus weapons, above all equipment which is deployed in foreign countries to which we supplied it for hard currency, and use the currency generated in this way to buy goods we need."]

"At the same time, we'll be looking for contacts with Arab oil suppliers and lease abandoned oil wells in Russia. We shall also have to revise some of our supplies to the Russian Federation. For instance, Belarus supplies meat to Moscow and St. Petersburg in exchange for oil from Tyumen. Local authorities in Tyumen now demand meat for oil. Under these conditions we have decided to cut supplies of meat to St. Petersburg," Kebich said. He also noted that the government of the republic will pay full upkeep of the Belarussian Military District this year.

Italian Air Force Starts Flying Aid to Minsk

PM1802112792 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 3

[ITAR-TASS report under the general heading "U.S. Starlifters Roar Over Moscow. Operation 'Hope' Has Begun"]

[Text] Rome, 10 Feb—The first transport aircraft of the Italian Air Force carrying humanitarian aid for the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] countries has flown to Minsk. ANSA has reported that Italian aircraft will make 12 flights and will deliver to the Commonwealth states medicines and medical equipment provided by the Italian Government. The recipients of Italian aid include Moscow, Kiev, and St. Petersburg. The decision to conduct a large-scale action to support the Commonwealth member states was made by the heads of the industrially developed Western countries at the conference held in Washington at the end of January to coordinate aid for the CIS.

Earlier in January, the State Export Credits Insurance Committee had decided to unblock payments under a loan to the value of 1.2 trillion lire granted by the Italian Government in the Russian Federation's favor. The money will be used to buy necessities. They had been frozen earlier because of the uncertain nature of the political situation in the former Soviet Union.

EC To Offer $30 Million in Conditional Aid

OW1802124092 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1057 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to sources in the government of Belarus, the EEC is ready to offer the republic economic aid worth $30 mn [million] only for concrete programs and on condition that Western businessmen will be involved in them.

According to the same sources, in the near future an EEC embassy is to open in Minsk. An appropriate understanding was signed by the head of the shadow cabinet of the Belarussian Popular Front Vladimir Zablotskiy.

Moldova

President Snegur on 'Successful' U.S. Talks

LD1902122592 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2332 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington, 19 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—The United States and Moldova have decided to establish diplomatic relations between the two countries, Moldovan President Mircea Snegur told an ITAR-TASS correspondent on 18 February after his meeting in the White House with U.S. President George Bush. According to the Moldovan leader, who spoke positively of the meeting between the U.S. and Moldovan presidents, the sides did not examine specific projects for cooperation between the two countries during their lengthy conversation but did discuss general prospects for political and trade and economic relations.

In the opinion of both sides concrete issues of U.S.-Moldovan cooperation will be studied by special groups of experts from the two countries and their proposals will be examined by U.S. and Moldovan presidents. At the same time, during the White House meeting President Bush stated that the United States will support Moldova in joining the International Monetary Fund and other financial institutes.

The Moldovan side made the most of the opportunity to express gratitude to the United States for its emergency humanitarian aid, primarily medicines and medical equipment which the new independent state needs most of all, continued Snegur. The U.S. side showed considerable interest in the situation in the countries of the Commonwealth of Independent States and specifically in Moldova, particularly the intentions of the Moldovan leadership in resolving problems with the ethnic minorities living in Moldova and the protection of their democratic rights and freedoms. In this connection the President of the United States was informed that all issues concerning the ethnic minorities in Moldova will be resolved strictly in accordance with the law.

On the whole, the Moldovan delegation that met the U.S. President was very satisfied with the results of the talks, which could legitimately be called successful, Snegur stressed. The U.S. President expressed considerable interest in our country, it could be said, in practically all aspects of its internal life and foreign policy that we told the American side about. As is generally the nature of President G. Bush, he took a very understanding view of everything that is currently going on in the new independent states—former republics of the USSR. In our view, the U.S. President received full replies to questions of interest to him on what is happening in the former Soviet Union, what we intend to undertake both at present and in the future, and what is actually of most concern at the present time.

The president of Moldova noted that the results of the talks could without exaggeration be described as productive and useful for both sides. In this regard he expressed the hope that direct contacts between the presidents of the United States and Moldova will bring undoubted benefit to the peoples of the two states. The effective establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and Moldova, a decision that was made at the meeting in the White House, could lead in the long term to mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries in all areas and promote the achievement of a new level of mutual understanding between us. As regards the question of opening embassies of the United States in Kishinev and of Moldova in Washington, it will be resolved in the immediate future. Incidentally, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, who recently visited Moldova, has already made a request to our side to find suitable accommodation for a U.S. Embassy in Kishinev.

On the same day Snegur, president of Moldova, met representatives of the U.S. Congress, including the House of Representatives Foreign Affairs Committee, and of U.S. government and business circles. On the evening of 18 February Snegur left the U.S. capital for New York from where he will proceed to Canada for a working visit. Next week he will visit the United States again, in particular to take part in the work of the 46th session of the UN General Assembly, which is resuming and which will examine the question of accepting Moldova as a member of this international organization, and to hold further meetings with representatives of the U.S. Government and business circles as well as with U.S. legislators.

Costas, U.S. Attache Hold News Conference

LD1802163692 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Excerpts] The U.S. military attache in Moscow, Colonel (Repper), has been in Moldova for a working visit at the invitation of the Republic's Ministry of Defense, the MOLDOVA-PRES agency reports.

Colonel (Repper) and Lieutenant General Costas, the republic's minister of defense, gave a news conference on 17 February. They reported to journalists on the progress of the visit and on its results, which are to develop cooperation in the military sphere. The U.S. military attache noted that the United States is interested primarily in exchanging experience in military and technical training as well as student exchanges. However, so far there has been no request from the Moldovan side for help in setting up national armed forces.

Defense Minister Ion Costas told journalists about the results of the Minsk meeting. Moldova, Ukraine, and Azerbaijan expressed a firm intention to set up their own armed forces and not to join the military alliance of the other eight republics, he said.

In conclusion, the republic's defense minister and the U.S. military attache in Moscow answered many questions from journalists. In reply to a question from our correspondent on the need for Moldova to set up its own armed forces, Colonel (Repper) and General Costas said, in particular:

[Begin recording] [passage omitted [Unidentified speaker] I have a few questions. I would like to remind you that before the talks I was present at a meeting between Mr. Costas and Secretary of State James Baker at which there was a question about his attitude toward borders and territories and to the situation which arose after 1940, to the Ribbentrop-Molotov Pact, and what was said was unambiguous; that they had never recognized this pact and had always condemned it. (?So it follows) that all that happened at that time in 1940, including on the territory of Bessarabia where we are today, was tyranny.

[Costas] The conference of heads of state in Minsk was on the military bloc issue. This meeting was fairly complex as regards the military bloc. A total of 14 issues proposed envisaging, in principle, the setting up of unified Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS] Armed Forces belonging to the CIS under a unified command, with unified finances, a unified military policy, a unified cadre system, a unified training system, and unified material and technical supplies.

In other words there was an attempt [words indistinct] to create an army for the CIS—a state which does not in fact exist. There were efforts to push this idea forward by the central apparatus of the former Ministry of Defense headed by Marshal Shaposhnikov. It is clear that many (?serious) states do not like this idea and this was clearly and toughly stated, primarily by three Union republics, of the former Union I mean, states of the former Union namely Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova. (?The Union), the former Union is not involved in military matters except for strategic troops while all the rest, our (?army), our own military forces are to be set up on the basis of military units which are now being created and also on the basis of military units which have remained here. And Belarus and Uzbekistan took approximately the same position. Later there were certain debates and they altered their point of view somewhat and the document which is known as the Commonwealth Accord of the Eight was born. [Words indistinct] of Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova which have decided to set up their own armed forces [passage indistinct].

Eight states of the (?former) USSR agreed to (?the concept of) a unified leadership, a unified strategy, unified military doctrine, a unified cadre system, unified finances leaving out the other three republics. The [word indistinct] was not adopted. [Words indistinct] there was one document concerning material and technical supplies to the Armed Forces being set up on the territory of the republic and the unified system in general and then there was the question of social provisions for servicemen and members of their families. These were two issues on which things were signed as regards the military bloc. [end recording]

Left Bank Residents Issue Appeal To Russia

LD1702152692 Kishinev Radio Kishinev Network in Russian 0700 GMT 15 Feb 92

["Appeal by Delegation of Representatives of Several Towns and Rayons in the Left Bank Part of Moldova to the Parliament and Government of the Russian Federation" read by announcer]

[Excerpt] The Republic of Moldova proclaimed its independence on 27 August 1991, laying the foundations for a new ethnic, social, and economic future and opening the road toward a common European home. For many decades everything possible was done to ensure that the people lost their historical memory and their sense of national and human worth.

The necessary conditions are present in Moldova to preserve the individuality and develop the culture of national minorities such as Russians, Ukrainians, Gagauz, Jews, Bulgarians, Germans, and other nationalities. Thirteen percent of people living in Moldova are of Russian background and there are enough kindergartens and schools for these people. Around 50 percent of students at technical colleges and higher educational institutions in Moldova are taught in Russian. At the same time, over 40 percent of Moldovans living on the left bank of the Dnestr are today unable to exercise their right to be educated in their native language.

It is well known that destructive elements supported by certain forces from the center of the former Union are engaging in anticonstitutional activities in this part of Moldova. With the aim of preserving a totalitarian system these elements have set up a parallel power structure, including armed gangs, and are putting up fierce resistance to the legitimate authorities that are implementing democratic reforms.

To prevent any further outbursts of militarism and banditism several towns and rayons of the left bank part of Moldova held an assembly of residents which has sent us as delegates to Moscow and authorized us to state:

1. There are and have been no interethnic conflicts on the territory of Moldova. There are only conflicts between progressive forces and reactionary elements which aspire to restore the totalitarian Communist regime.

2. There are no grounds whatsoever for the so-called Dnestr Moldavian Republic, which was set up according to the wishes of dark forces which emerged in August

1991. There are no legal grounds, since it contradicts the constitution of the Republic of Moldova and the constitution of the former USSR; or ethnic grounds, since around 40 percent of the people living in the left bank part of Moldova are Moldovans, between 27 and 28 percent Ukrainians, and between 22 and 23 percent Russians; or economic grounds, since the processing industries of the left bank of the Dnestr are supplied with raw material from the right bank part of Moldova.

3. A certain section of the mass media, including central television programs and Radio Rossii, as well as several members of the Russian Federation's parliament, whether because they are poorly informed or because of short-term considerations, are disseminating rumors alleging that Russians are being oppressed in Moldova and that they need protection. Thus, Russians living in Moldova are being done a disservice and pushed into breaking the laws of the independent Republic of Moldova, which is now verging on civil war.

4. Wide recognition by the world community of the independence and sovereignty of Moldova is driving reactionary forces, which already have claimed many innocent victims, into a frenzy. Elements with separatist leanings in Moldova are trying to provoke civil war which would spread all over the territory of the former USSR and thus, with the aid of the armed forces, to establish a military dictatorship.

5. The delay in ratifying the treaty between the Russian Federation and Moldova by the Russian parliament is nurturing the hopes of certain destructive forces that this mythical republic might be recognized in some quarters and creates grounds for disregarding the constitution and laws of Moldova and setting up parallel power structures. In this situation the government of Moldova cannot provide the necessary free guarantees either to Moldovans, Russians or other nationalities about the protection of whose rights many political figures, including Russian members of parliament, talk a great deal.

In connection with the above we propose to the government and parliament of the Russian Federation:

1. Taking the measures necessary to prevent destructive forces in the form of Cossack units and volunteers as well as other forms of internationalist aid from penetrating into the territory of Moldova from Russia, something which amounts to interference in the internal affairs of sovereign Moldova.

2. That they show concern not only for the rights of their fellow countrymen but also to ensure that the latter are conscientious in fulfilling their constitutional obligations and respect the culture, language and traditions of the local population.

We consider that it would be expedient for the leadership of the Russian Federation to adopt a relevant appeal to their fellow countrymen living in Moldova.

3. We invite representatives of the bodies of state power as well as public and political figures along with the mass media of the Russian Federation to visit our rayons and towns at the addresses listed below to see for themselves how things really are and to prevent actions and words which could whip the situation up still further. [passage omitted]

Mircea Druc Elected Chairman of Popular Front

LD1702102392 Moscow TASS in English
0620 GMT 17 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Demidetskiy]

[Text] Kishinev February 15 TASS—Former Moldovan Prime Minister Mircea Druk was elected chairman of the Popular Christian Democratic Front of Moldova late on Sunday [16 February], at the closure of the front's congress.

The congress of the front, which was earlier called the Popular Front of Moldova, accepted the charter and the political programme of the movement. The main aim is to reunite Moldova and Romania and create a united Romanian state. The front is in opposition to Moldovan President Mircea Snegur who stands for an independent republic.

Local observers believe the choice of Druc, whom Moldovan parliament dismissed last year, may sharply increase political opposition in the republic. Druc told the congress he did not exclude armed struggle as a means to win national liberation.

Uzbekistan

Baker Visit Shows 'Active, New' U.S. Policy

LD1602164392 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1200 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Report by Tashkent correspondent Sh. Ganiyeva on U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's Central Asian tour; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Uzbekistan is the third Central Asian republic on U.S. Secretary of State James Baker's tour. He was welcomed by Uzbek President Islam Karimov at Tashkent airport. Baker's visit to the Central Asian republics marks the start of an active, new U.S. political line in the region, and Washington's interest in this area is not without good reason on many counts. The United States fears an increase in Iran's influence here, in Uzbekistan, although local political experts confidently declare that the Republic has officially chosen the Turkish model of society. The talks between U.S. Secretary of State James Baker and President Islam Karimov were held behind closed doors. However, Baker told a small news conference for Uzbek and U.S. correspondents before talks this morning that he would be making appropriate recommendations to his government on relations with the Republic of Uzbekistan on the basis of these meetings. President Islam Karimov declared that he was striving to create an open society in the Republic, where no single ideology would be imposed and where human rights would be observed. Baker completed his Uzbek visit after a visit to Samarkand.

Iran Ready To Invest in Republic's Economy

OW1402194992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1653 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Iran is ready to invest in the economy of Uzbekistan, the chairman of the committee on economic reform of the Supreme Soviet of Uzbekistan Erkin Khodzhiev told INTERFAX upon his return from Iran on Thursday [13 February]. However, Khodzhiev noted that the delegation of the Uzbek Parliament had only discussed economic cooperation.

Khodzhiev stated that Uzbekistan plans to develop its foreign economic activities. A package of bills is being prepared on currency regulation, customs tariffs and market activities.

Government Asks Soldiers Not To Abandon Units

PM1802100192 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Feb 92 p 3

[Correspondent Major V. Kovalenko report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Republic Parliament and Defense Affairs Ministry Ask Uzbek Servicemen Not To Abandon Places of Service"]

[Text] Tashkent, 10 Feb—V. Niyazmatov, member of the Republic of Uzbekistan Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Committee for Questions of State and Public Security, Defense, and Servicemen's Social Protection; and Major General R. Akhmedov, minister for defense affairs; have appealed to Uzbek servicemen serving outside the republic to display restraint and calm, not to allow cases of abandonment of the place of service, not to discredit the honor and dignity of a citizen of the republic, to fulfill conscientiously the demands of the military regulations and their commanders, to strengthen the bonds of military fraternity and international comradeship, and to communicate with fellow servicemen of various nationalities only in the language of friendship.

The appeal contains a call not to discredit the authority of independent Uzbekistan with violations of discipline and to be patient until all military problems have been resolved and the corresponding laws, which are now being actively drawn up in the republic and the Commonwealth of Independent States, have been adopted.

At the same time Uzbeks are required to report to their commanders all instances of the trampling of their rights or offenses in relations and, if the appropriate reaction is not forthcoming, to report this to the Ministry for Defense Affairs and the Supreme Soviet so that soldiers and officers who, as the appeal states, are serving far from home not at their own choice can be placed under protection in good time.

Officers Oppose Republic Control Over Military

OW1702192792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The command of a military unit stationed near Termez, southern Uzbekistan, plans to move it to Russia if the Uzbek leadership seeks its being placed under authority of the republican Defense Ministry, said a reliable military source. The unit's commissioned officers are concerned over the local leaderships' ban on the shipment of any military cargoes from Uzbekistan. The officers also express concern over the state of their military equipment.

IF [INTERFAX] learned from the same source that 4,500 combat vehicles are laid up near Termez, including T-72 tanks and T-80 tanks. Another 2,500 vehicles are near Samarkand, also in Uzbekistan.

The CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] armed forces' chief command refused to confirmed the report for IF.

Armenia

Unidentified Helicopters To Be Shot Down

LD1902113792 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1000 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] All helicopters shelling Armenian-populated areas or overflying the territory of Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] without displaying identification marks will be shot down.

This was told to a SNARK news agency correspondent in Stepanakert on Wednesday [19 February] by (Artsakha), a representative of the operational staff headquarters of the Armenian self-defense forces. The self-defense forces have been forced to resort to this measure following the ever more frequent cases of the shelling of Armenian villages by helicopters.

Turkish Troops at 'Combat Readiness' on Border

OW1802192792 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1525 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the 18 February "Diplomatic Panorama"; item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Our correspondent has been informed by assistants of the Armenian president's national security adviser that the Turkish 3rd Field Army stationed near the Armenian border has been put in combat readiness. According to available information, the army is 50,000-60,000 strong. Turkey claims the army is getting ready for routine exercises, but neither the command of the CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] Armed Forces nor the Armenian Government have been given any official notice to this effect.

Some journalists believe there is a connection between this and the events in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Officials Meet With CSCE Delegation

NC1602214192 Yerevan Radio Yerevan Network in Armenian 1630 GMT 16 Feb 92

[Text] A CSCE delegation is in Yerevan. Its members had a series of meetings in the republic. This morning they held a long conversation with the Armenian Supreme Soviet's standing commission on human rights and nationalities affairs. In the evening the guests met refugees from Sumgait and relatives of Armenians taken hostage by Azerbaijanis.

The delegation also held a meeting with the Supreme Soviet's standing commission on press affairs. Commission chairman Meruzhan Ter-Gulanyan and secretary Samuel Shahmuratyan were (?asked) if the press and news agencies in Armenia are free and can express divergent opinions [words indistinct].

Ministry Denies Report About Iran Meeting

OW1402192992 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1417 GMT 14 Feb 92

[Report by Mikhail Mayorov, Igor Porshnev, and others from "Diplomatic Panorama"; transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press center of Armenia's Foreign Ministry has dismissed Radio Liberty's report that spokesmen for Armenia and Azerbaijan gathered for talks in Tehran. The report might have been a provocation, the press secretary of Armenia's Foreign Ministry Garnik Badalian told DP's [Diplomatic Panorama] correspondent. No spokesman for Armenia held talks in Tehran with spokesmen for Azerbaijan, he pointed out.

Iran Prepared To Supply Gas, Black Oil

LD1302002292 Moscow POSTFACTUM in English 1836 GMT 12 Feb 92

[From the "External Economic Relations" section]

[Text] Iran is prepared to sell Armenia gas and black oil as well as reconstructing the republic's telephone network, said deputy of the Iranian Majlis. Artavas Baghumian, now on a visit in Yerevan, told the Armenian Supreme Council deputies on February 11: Iran seeks to occupy an impartial position as regards the Karabakh conflict believing that Armenia and Azerbaijan should negotiate this problem themselves.

U.S. Transport Arrives 'Just in Time'

PM1802121792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1800 GMT 14 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast: Report by V. Nazaryan from Yerevan]

[Text] [Nazaryan] The third U.S. military transport carrying humanitarian aid landed at Yerevan airport today. Within the "Provide Hope" project, 60,000 tons of food have been flown in, intended exclusively for rural and rayon hospitals. The aid has arrived just in time, as they say, since economic recovery has proved impossible, largely because of the serious energy crisis.

Gas supplies have improved slightly in recent days. There is still no gas coming in from Azerbaijan, but supplies along the Georgian pipeline have increased by 1 million cubic meters on average. This has enabled the government commission dealing with essential services to authorize a few more enterprises to resume operations.

Azerbaijan

No Presidential Talks With Armenia Planned

LD1902075492 Moscow TASS in English 0741 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] Baku February 19 TASS—The press service of the Azeri president refuted today the reports of some mass media organs to the effect that the Azeri and Armenian leaders will meet in Moscow today.

"A possible meeting on the level of presidents was not discussed," the press service reported and specified that "the foreign ministers of Azerbaijan and Armenia are expected to meet for the purpose of giving a new impetus to the negotiating process." The meeting is to take place in Moscow on February 20.

Mutalibov Presents Peace Plan

OW1802151692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1406 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] IF [INTERFAX] has learned the details of the three-stage plan for settling the conflict in Nagorno-Karabakh which Azeri President Ayaz Mutalibov proposed during his talks with James Baker in Baku, February 12.

The president's adviser in ethnic relations Rasim Musabekov told IF that at the initial stage the two sides were [passage indistinct] utilization of communications and supplies of humanitarian aid to the population. Unsanctioned flights of helicopters over the territory of Azerbaijan are absolutely ruled out, said Rasim Musabekov.

At present, Armenian helicopters freely fly to Stepanakert (Khankendi), the administrative center of Nagorno-Karabakh.

At the second stage the two sides are expected to formulate the principles of political settlement of the conflict. Armenia and Azerbaijan are to conclude an agreement normalizing their inter-state relations. This agreement should be drafted in such a way as to rule out any territorial claims. Concurrently, the two sides are to exchange hostages, restore the life-support systems in Nagorno-Karabakh and take measures to allow refugees to come back home.

At the third stage the political agreement on Nagorno-Karabakh is to be reflected in a special law which is expected to be adopted by the Azeri and Armenian parliaments. Such a law should define the status of Nagorno-Karabakh as a cultural autonomous entity belonging to Azerbaijan and settle problems pertaining to local self-government.

Iranian Mediation Welcomed

LD1802190792 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1509 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Kuzmin]

[Text] Tehran, 18 Feb (ITAR-TASS)—Azerbaijan's entry into the Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) founded by Iran, Turkey, and Pakistan, is "an important step toward the republic's attainment of full independence," President Mutalibov of Azerbaijan said just before departing for home from the Iranian capital, where he has been attending an ECO summit. Azerbaijan, he added, will from now on be the economic bridge linking Iran with its northern neighbors, including Russia and Ukraine.

Mutalibov welcomed Iran's proposal to mediate in the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. "Bearing in mind the Islamic Republic of Iran's important geopolitical position, Azerbaijan is optimistic about the outcome of Iran's mediation efforts," he continued. The president condemned the recent report from the UN Human Rights Commission in which Azerbaijan is accused of violating these rights.

European Parliament Criticized

LD1902121292 Moscow TASS in English 1115 GMT 19 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM-TASS correspondent Natan Barsku]

[Text] Baku February 19 (TASS)—The Azeri Foreign Ministry has expressed "deep regret" over the "one-sided approach" of the European Parliament to the Nagorno-Karabakh problem.

A statement of the ministry published today points out that "before the European Parliament comes to some definite conclusion on inter-ethnic relations, which is a very delicate issue, it should get acquainted with a real situation directly in the region and not resort in the future to a policy of double standards in this sphere."

The statement was issued in response to the resolution "on assistance to Nagorno-Karabakh", adopted at a plenary session of the European Parliament, in which Azerbaijan is accused of human rights violations with regard to the Armenian population of Nagorno-Karabakh.

"The resolution ignores the fact that it is the Armenian armed groups who are the aggressor. Over the past several days alone they staged massive attacks against two dozens of Azeri villages," the Azeri Foreign Ministry points out. As a result of this action they were fully destroyed, plundered and burned down, and more than 15,000 Azeris were driven away from places of permanent residence.

"Azerbaijan, which is a full-fledged member of the world community, respects and strictly abides by the generally recognised standards of the international law. The republic is interested in an impartial assessment of the developments in the region by international organisations and the world public, and is doing its utmost to promote it," the statement says.

CSCE Team Gets 'Evidence' of Armenian Crimes

NC1902124292 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1800 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Text] Guseynov, the Azerbaijan minister of national security, has received CSCE delegation members who are visiting Baku. The two sides examined matters related to the situation and dispute in Nagorno-Karabakh. Guests were given documents confirming the criminal activities of Armenian bandits in Azerbaijan helped by members of international terrorist organizations.

The CSCE delegation studied the evidence which confirmed that Armenia is violating the norms of international law by organizing Armenian bandit operations in Azerbaijan. Armenia is also financing the Armenian groups and supplying them with modern arms.

Guseynov replied to guests' questions on matters concerning the CSCE [words indistinct].

Turkish Moves, Nagorno-Karabakh Issue Cited

LD1802221592 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 Feb 92 Morning Edition pp 1-2

[Aleksandra Lugovskaya report: "Report from Yerevan: Turkey Moving Troops to Border. Turkish Embassy in Moscow Denies It"]

[Text] While Russian Foreign Minister A. Kozyrev, having sent out invitations to his colleagues in Baku and Yerevan, is awaiting their planned visit to Moscow 20 February, the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh continues to develop to a military scenario. The use of the "Grad" and "Uragan" [multiple rocket launchers] mass destruction systems in the shelling of Stepanakert (Khankendi) has sharply increased the number of casualties and the amount of destruction. Concern has also been heightened by President A. Mutalibov's recent statement that Azerbaijan will stop at nothing to gain a final solution to the Nagorno-Karabakh issue.

We have received quite stunning information form Armenia. A ranking staffer with the Republic's security service, who wished to remain anonymous, is claiming that in the past few days a large concentration of Turkish troops has been noted along the entire border between Turkey and Armenia. As he put it, the Turkish 3d Field Army, comprising four full divisions and seven separate brigades, has been deployed on a war footing, as have its field staffs. The Army is on combat alert—something which has not been seen since World War II, the staffer stated. He believes that the lack of any warning or notification of planned exercises gives rise to the most unbelievable forecasts.

The same source claimed that Armenian experts believe that in the very near future Turkey could come to Azerbaijan's assistance—at its request—in resolving the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict. Without violating the Armenian border, this can only be done through the nine-kilometer stretch of the common border between Turkey and Azerbaijani Nakhichevan. But subsequently... The possibility of a move through Armenian territory is not being ruled out, the staffer said. Undoubtedly, Turkey's democratic image would suffer severely, but since it is a question of highly important national interests for the two states—the reunification of Turkey and Azerbaijan and the simultaneous resolution of the Nagorno-Karabakh problem—Turkey might accept a temporary loss of image and rebuild it later through a change of government or so forth. That was the opinion of this influential staffer at the Armenian security service.

A. Manucharyan, the Armenian president's national security adviser, did not refute the information from his special services, but categorically refused to comment on it. R. Musabekov, adviser to President Mutalibov on political and national security issues, restricted himself to a vigorous "rubbish, there are no troops on the common 11-kilometer border between Turkey and Azerbaijan." But he added: "As for the Turkish border with Armenia, I have no information on that."

Here is what Press Attache Shevki Myutevellioglu [name as transliterated] told us on behalf of the Turkish Embassy in Moscow:

"We categorically deny this report. Turkish policy with regard to the ethnic conflicts in the region is to find a peaceful solution to all problems—exclusively through peaceful and diplomatic means. The essence of this policy has been repeatedly explained and emphasized by all Turkish officials at the highest level. And there has been no change in this policy. Predictions about possible changes to this policy are wholly unfounded."

...It can now be claimed with a large degree of certainty that the Moscow meeting between the Azerbaijani and Armenian foreign ministers will be dominated by the search for ways to get the conflict out of the military sphere and onto the path of political settlement. Despite the unpredictability of the results, we would like to see a certain amount of hope in the cautious statement from F. Shelov-Kovedyayev, Russian first deputy foreign minister: "The heads of the three foreign policy departments will be meeting to discuss approaches to the following talks. Russia's mission here is to provide its good offices. If the appropriate requests are subsequently made by the parties, Russia could eventually look at the possibility of mediation. Although the [Yeltsin-Nazarbayev] 'Zheleznovodsk' process has been stymied, it could be revived, in our opinion."

There is one day to go before the meeting starts, although it could be scuppered because of the host's poor elaboration of protocol and procedural points. Whereas Azerbaijan has formed its delegation and is clarifying its positions, as far as Armenia is concerned a great deal remains unclear: Who will participate in the Moscow talks and what range of issues will be examined at them? The two presidents' national security advisers, who have issued laconic statements on the "Turkish situation," agreed to discuss in detail their states' positions on the Nagorno-Karabakh problem and aspects of the Moscow meeting.

Manucharyan believes that "the politicians have failed to take one nicety into account—since the conflict is between Nagorno-Karabakh and Azerbaijan, agreement should be reached between those parties. Whereas previously Armenia was able to conduct negotiations on the problem, this knee-jerk reaction is now ruled out—from the standpoint of both the law and morality. Nagorno-Karabakh has its own government, which may disagree with the Moscow accords. We advocate that the talks be direct—for us, this is both desirable and possible. And if Nagorno-Karabakh wants to remain part of Azerbaijan, for instance—all well and good. Baku is trying to present the conflict as an Armenian territorial claim—even though L. Ter-Petrosyan stated back in September 1990 that he would support any option acceptable to the population of Nagorno-Karabakh. His position has not changed since then. Moreover, in this delicate situation we are prepared to help Azerbaijan avoid any touchy issues [shchepetilnyye momenty] with the Nagorno-Karabakh Government during the talks. That is why we are worried about our status at the Moscow meeting—will we be direct participants, or will we be there in some other capacity? We would like to be an interested party, rather than the party conducting the talks. But, given positive agreements, we are prepared to act as guarantors. I see this meeting as a purely preparatory working meeting aimed at defining the range of issues and the regularity of subsequent meetings."

Relations between Azerbaijan and Armenia following the collapse of the "Zheleznovodsk process"—or, rather, following the Azerbaijani helicopter crash over Shusha—remain very tense. Nonetheless, there are new trends in Baku's position which permit a certain amount of optimism. Musabekov made the following comment on these trends: "Armenia's participation in the Moscow meeting is desirable for Azerbaijan in order to ensure that the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict does not escalate. Russia has an interest in this, as has any other state. We believe that a political settlement is inevitable, and the sooner a solution is found the fewer unhappy people will be left in the area. There have been no official or unofficial meetings with the Armenian community in Nagorno-Karabakh, but we have asked it to be made known that we are prepared for such talks. For meetings, consultations, and—if points of contact emerge—talks too. There is currently a lot of talk about Azerbaijan's massive use of force against Nagorno-Karabakh's civilians. In actual fact we have no army, and calling a single battalion an army is simply absurd. And the citizens there are not civilians anyway—they are armed, and no worse armed than the Azerbaijani self-defense detachments, which comprise citizens from Nagorno-Karabakh..."

It will be the fourth "anniversary" of the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict at the end of February. It must be admitted that the politicians have had time to crystallize their positions during this period, and that the collapse of the USSR and the state independence of Armenia and Azerbaijan point increasingly to the personal responsibility of the top men for any escalation of the conflict. Yet if we dispense with emotion, it can be said that positive steps toward a negotiating process are becoming more and more noticeable. The reason is not so much the huge number of casualties, which can no longer be justified by any commonly held grudges, but the fact that the world community is prepared to deal—be it in politics, business, or any other sphere of relations—solely with the democratic states to emerge on the territory of the former USSR. The ball is now in their court.

Situation in Nagorno-Karabakh Updated

OW1902121692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1035 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] According to the Interior Department in Shusha, armed Armenian units again subjected that city in Nagorno-Karabakh to missile and artillery fire on Tuesday [18 February] night, destroying 6 and damaging 4 buildings. The department made no mention of casualties.

The Karabakh Interior Department reports the administrative center Stepanakert (Khankendi) suffered two attacks from GRAD salvo launchers on Wednesday [19 February] morning. As a result, many buildings were damaged. The furniture factory is on fire. The exact number of casualties is yet to be established.

Azeri sources say armed Armenians opened fire on a number of population centers in the Ter-Tersk (Askeran) district, killing one Azeri civilian and wounding another. The attackers took hostage two local residents of whom one later escaped.

According to the Kubatly Interior Department, 9 Armenian tanks and 6 armored vehicles stormed into the territory of that Azeri district on Tuesday night and fired on the town of Kubatly, destroying 4 buildings.

The Shusha Interior Department says Igor Yurkov and Andrey Kostyrev, two deserters from the 366th motorized infantry regiment stationed in Stepanakert, appeared in Shusha on Tuesday. They asserted that officers of their regiment—mainly Armenians—had repeatedly left the cantonment on tanks and armored vehicles to fire on Shusha and Khojaly.

The Armenian self-defense force HQ in Nagorno-Karabakh has warned that all unidentified helicopters shelling local population centers will be downed. The warning came after two MI-24 combat helicopters opened fire on villages in the Askeran district on Tuesday.

Security Chief on Conflict

MK1902133292 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 19 Feb 92 pp 1, 3

[Ivan Grankin report: "Eyewitness: War in Karabakh. Reaction From People Who Lost Everything Overnight Is Unpredictable. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Journalists Experienced This for Themselves"]

[Excerpts] We came to Baku specially to see the Nagorno-Karabakh conflict through the eyes of the Azerbaijanis. It was originally planned to visit the Azerbaijan presidential apparatus press center and then move off without delay to the conflict zone, visit cities bordering on Nagorno-Karabakh, travel via Agdam to the Nagorno-Karabakh region, and then visit Shushe, Khodzhaly, and, if possible, Stepanakert, and, of course, see and film the hostilities. [passage omitted]

What actions will the Azerbaijan leadership take against refugees, whose bitterness could develop critical mass any day now?

We put these and other questions to the republic's best informed—from our viewpoint—department, the KGB, now the Azerbaijan Ministry of National Security.

Major General Ilguseyn Piruseyn ogly Guseynov, minister of national security, answered our questions.

[Guseynov] The situation in Agdam is certainly tense. I would even say explosive. At this moment 18,000 refugees from 20 Nagorno-Karabakh villages are left without shelter in the republic. The republic's leadership is hurriedly settling these matters. But we are unable to help everyone fully at once. I am referring to the payment of compensation, provision of housing, and long-term loans.

[Grankin] What problem is most important in the republic today?

[Guseynov] The problem of setting up our own regular army. I can state with full responsibility that today the republic has no army as such. There are self-defense forces, the national guard, and OMON [Special-Purpose Militia Detachment]. The mistake in delaying setting up our own regular army has cost us virtually the loss of Nagorno-Karabakh.

[Grankin] In your view, how will events develop in the future in Nagorno-Karabakh?

[Guseynov] According to our information, Armenian forces have been observed massing right now in the southern region of Karabakh with a view to creating a corridor between Nagorno-Karabakh and Armenia. We will try to prevent this. Azerbaijan can defend its territory.

[Grankin] How do you see interethnic relations developing within the republic?

[Guseynov] We do not aim to deport Armenians from Azerbaijan. Some 14,000 mixed Armenian-Azerbaijan marriages have hitherto been registered in Baku. We are also willing to take back those Russians and Jews who left Baku. However, it is still undesirable for Armenians to return in view of the local population's unpredictable reaction.

[Grankin] Is there a chance of the conflict being settled peacefully?

[Guseynov] Azerbaijan will never abandon its territories. We will set up a regular army and all Nagorno-Karabakh territory will be liberated.

Armenians Said Ready To Attack

LD1902101392 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0800 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] According to information from Azerbaijani sources, more than 2,000 armed guerrillas are concentrated in Gorisskiy rayon, Armenia, along the border with Azerbaijan. It is expected that the Armenian formations will attempt massed attacks on the border regions of the neighboring republic in the near future.

Border Situation 'Deteriorated'

LD1802194692 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1647 GMT 18 Feb 92

[By AZERINFORM correspondent Sabir Mirzoyev]

[Text] Baku, 18 Feb (TASS)—The situation in the rayons of Azerbaijan that border Armenia has sharply deteriorated. According to reports from the information center of the People's Front of Azerbaijan, the Azerbaijan border villages of Eyin, Tarovlu, Yukhary Dzhibikli, Ashagy Dzhibikli, and Chereli have been subjected practically all day to concentrated artillery bombardment by Armenian armed groupings from the Gorisskiy and Kafanskiy rayons of Armenia. According to preliminary reports, there is great destruction. Reports on victims are being clarified.

As reported by the Republic of Azerbaijan's Ministry of Internal Affairs, the day before, under cover of nine tanks and two armored vehicles, Armenian armed groupings from the direction of Kafanskiy and Gorisskiy rayons drove a wedge deep into the territory of Kubatlinskiy rayon. Fire was targetted at inhabited points of the rayon from Kamaz vehicles equipped with Alazan rocket units. In the town of Kubatly, on which 15 shells landed, two houses were destroyed. There are no victims.

As previously, tension around the towns of Shusha and Khodzhaly is not abating. There is no calm in other inhabited areas of the Azerbaijan community of Nagorno-Karabakh.

President Appoints Self-Defense Commanders

LD1502235692 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 2000 GMT 15 Feb 92

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] Azerbaijan's President Mutalibov has appointed commanders of the self-defense forces in the Karabakh region, thus making the Karabakh conflict resemble regular combat operations even more. The command of the self-defense forces in the Karabakh region has been entrusted to Tahir Aliyev, first deputy minister of internal affairs of Azerbaijan. The defense of the town of Shusha and of Gernaboyskiy Rayon was entrusted to People's Deputy Ragim Gaziyev and Major General Dadash Urzayev.

Mutalibov Comments on Opposition, Relations

MK1902094592 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 8, 23 Feb 92 p 11

[Interview with Azerbaijan President A. Mutalibov by correspondents A. Kolesnikov and M. Shevelev; date and place not given; first paragraph is introduction: "Ayaz Mutalibov: '...I Am Now Being Kicked At Every Turn, I Am Not Responding—I Must Bear My Cross...' MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI Correspondents Andrey Kolesnikov and Mikhail Shevelev Talk to Azerbaijan President Ayaz Mutalibov"]

[Excerpt] The Azerbaijan president's office seems to reflect the current state of his republic, where new things have already begun, but the old system has not yet disappeared. In the corner of the room there is the new Azerbaijan flag with its half moon, while on the wall there is the old emblem of the Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic and the works of Lenin are on the bookshelves. However, there is nothing in the president's manner to remind you of his party past: He talks in a relaxed way, and he has a pack of Marlboro and a Sanyo dictaphone on the desk.... Like any modern politician Ayaz Mutalibov appreciates press attention. Instead of the scheduled 20 minutes the conversation lasted two hours.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Do you feel confident as president?

[Mutalibov] I most like sitting with family and friends, knowing that I do not have to listen to these telephone calls and reports.... It is total stress and hassle. No one in Azerbaijan lives as I do. I have no deputy.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Is the opposition preventing you from living your life?

[Mutalibov] The real opposition will only come after us, with the next generation. At present the opposition is a matter of confrontation and fault finding. One opposition leader said in 1989: We are using the experience of the Bolsheviks of 1917. That has stuck in my mind.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] But is it not you who has the Bolshevik roots, rather than they?

[Mutalibov] Attempts are being made to sully us with all manner of communist deeds, but I tell you: About 15 years ago I sensed the unnatural nature of a one-party system, but I was unable to get up and say so outright.... We were members of the party, but that did not deprive each one of us of an inner world.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Do you not think that the party in Azerbaijan is to blame for the events of January 1990?

[Azerbaijan] Undoubtedly. But today we are greater democrats than the people's front, which took on board the CPSU structure. Even if they take power, nothing will happen. It will not last long, because you have to be able to hold on to power, after all.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Do you feel no sympathy for Levon Ter- Petrosyan? He is after all in a similar position and you share the same profession—you are both presidents.

[Mutalibov] I spoke to him about this. Listen, I said, I want you to make out [sostoyatsya] as the leader of a neighboring state. I realize that things are difficult for you: You cannot change your spots overnight; you arrived atop the wave of the Karabakh movement. But time will pass and people will ask you: Have you gotten Karabakh for Armenia [dal ty Armenii Karabakh]? No. Your position will be the ruin of you.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Is it long since you last spoke to him?

[Mutalibov] Yesterday on the telephone. Baker is coming and I said: Let us adopt a common platform and secure a peaceful solution to this conflict.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Which of the incumbent republic leaders is closest to you in spirit?

[Mutalibov] From the pragmatic viewpoint I like Karimov. He was finance minister and chairman of the State Planning Commission, and he knows all about this. I also sympathize with Shushkevich. He is a very intelligent man—I can see that right away. Our relations with Yeltsin are OK, but we cannot sit down and talk without ceremony.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] You are known as one of the most consistent defenders of the Union. Did the breakup of the Union not represent a personal defeat and tragedy for you?

[Mutalibov] I was always exasperated by President Gorbachev's policy. Radical reforms should have been effected, but not in conditions of chaos and anarchy. You know, there was all that talk about the empire, the empire.... About a superpower, supercenter—this involved a certain group of people. We should have realized that since the Union is made up of republics they ought to have some rights, yet they were puppets. That was the reason for this catastrophe.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] How did your speech go in Davos at the world economic forum, which you described as "Azerbaijan's debut?"

[Mutalibov] I told people there: You pursue double standards toward Azerbaijan. Armenia has nowhere else to go, but you may neglect Azerbaijan, like Algeria. Do you want another Islamic state?

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] In your view, where is it most beneficial for Azerbaijan to direct its attention today: Iraq, Turkey, Russia? Which course do you personally favor?

[Mutalibov] The Turkish orientation is dearest to me, since it is a European model. But the Russian factor has always carried weight in Azerbaijani society. There is no anti-Russian sentiment, but it is emerging. At one point it got to me so much that I said to Gorbachev during a private conversation: "Mikhail Sergeyevich, don't you need this people?" "Yes, what are you talking about?" he replied. "The fact that no Russian autocrat treated the Azerbaijan factor as you do. You are entirely on the Armenian side. You mock our people. We cannot break through this wall; you have an Armenian entourage." I was particularly indignant after I had asked Gorbachev to employ our man Rafael Guseynov—a clever guy and an excellent journalist. Ignatenko had a vacancy. I said: You should at least have one Azerbaijani on your staff for the sake of your image. I reminded him twice: Yes, he said. He did not take him on. A month later I learned that he had taken on an Armenian.

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Do you have no contacts with Gorbachev now? Have you not developed friendly relations?

[Mutalibov] He only heard obscenities from me. Of his entire entourage only I spoke to him impartially. In 1990, when I came to him with our Nagorno-Karabakh trouble, he asked me: What do you think about market relations? I asked him: If privatization occurs, what will you have for the budget as the central authority? Have you not miscalculated? And who tackled this? Primakov is no good at that....

[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI] Did he realize what you were saying to him?

[Mutalibov] I think he did, but he was unable to act on it. If a man had not gone through the school that I did.... He is guided by reports, while I am guided by life. [passage omitted]

Georgia

Guardsmen Mobilized Over Turkish Exercises

LD1902051192 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 0400 GMT 19 Feb 92

[Text] RIA reports that the mobilization of national guardsmen has been announced in Georgia's Akhalkalkhanskiy Rayon at the decree of National Guard Commander Tengiz Kitovani. This decision is the result of exercises by the Turkish Army which are taking place in Turkish districts bordering Georgia.

Official Denies Arrest of 'Political Prisoners'

OW1802211592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1922 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Georgia's Procurator General Vakhtang Razmadze has said there are no political prisoners in his republic today. Replying to a question from INTERFAX at a news conference in Tbilisi on Tuesday [18 February], he refuted the allegation that parliamentarians Guram Absandze and Tariel Ghelantia were arrested for political motives.

Razmadze said the two MP's [members of Parliament], who belonged to the close followers of ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia, were responsible for the withdrawal of nearly 40 million rubles in cash from the National Bank. They also ordered the granting of 4 billion rubles in credits to various joint ventures, firms and cooperatives that misused the money and have never returned it to the state."

The procurator told journalists that the crime situation in Georgia had notably deteriorated. The number of crimes committed since January 1 exceeded that of the same period last year fourfold. "The law-enforcement bodies are finding themselves practically helpless against the underworld," Ramtadze admitted.

Russians in South Ossetia To Protect Border

LD1802092892 Moscow TASS in English 0808 GMT 18 Feb 92

[by ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz February 18 TASS—The first unit of volunteers from the Russian National Legion arrived in South Ossetia on Tuesday [18 February] to protect the southern borders of Russia. The unit consists of reserve officers, Afghan war veterans, workers from several Russian enterprises, who stated upon their arrival that they would not get involved in military clashes in South Ossetia.

Georgia expressed its negative attitude to the unit's arrival, qualifying it as an interference into the internal affairs of the Republic, according to reports reaching here.

Clashes between the Georgian militants and South Ossetian self-defence units continued in the Republic last night. Georgians were shelling Ossetian settlements while Ossetians were firing in response at Georgian strongholds in the villages of Nikosi and Tamarasheni. No casualties were reported, according to the South Ossetian Interior Ministry.

The administrative centre of Tskhinvali remains blockaded. There is no electricity, gas, water, and heating supplies. As the local bakery ran out of flour, bread is being delivered to Tskhinvali by helicopters. No operations are performed in the local hospital because of a lack of medicines. It is also impossible to evacuate the wounded to Vladikavkaz as all roads are blocked.

Troops Said to Fuel Tension

AU1802161492 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1400 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Statement issued by the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Foreign Affairs; place and date not given]

[Text] The North Ossetian press has published information broadcast by Moscow TV concerning the fact that on 14 February the first volunteer regiment of the Russian Legion (?made up) of workers from a whole range of industrial enterprises in the Russian Federation arrived in the capital of the North Ossetian Soviet Socialist Republic, that the volunteers sent recently to North Ossetia do not intend to participate in armed actions on the territory of the republic, and that their sole task is to guard Russia's southern borders.

The dispatch of the volunteer regiment onto Georgian territory [words indistinct] could lead to further tension in Tskhinvali Rayon and to the escalation of the exisiting conflict. To avoid this escalation, the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Foreign Affairs requests that the Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs give an appropriate explanation concerning the information that has been published.

CIS Military Hardware To Guard Key Sites

AU1802122192 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 18 Feb 92

[Statement issued by the Republic of Georgia Ministry of Defense; place and date not given]

[Text] On 15 February of this year, in connection with an item broadcast on the Moscow TV "Novosti" program concerning assistance rendered by the Transcaucasian Military District to the Republic of Georgia in resolving certain problems that arose in the Abkhaz region, we consider it necessary to state the following:

After the main instances of armed clashes between the supporters and opponents of the former president of the Republic of Georgia in Tbilisi had come to an end on 18-20 January of this year, at the request of the Republic's Military Council and Provisional Government, proceeding from the interests of the vital activities of the national economy, in order to provide the population and the troops of the Trancaucasian military and border districts with all necessary supplies, and in accordance with the decision of the Main Command of the Armed Forces of the Commonwealth of Independent States [CIS], military hardware was provided to ensure the normal functioning of vitally important economic structures. The Georgian public knows that the railway (?station) in Sukhumi was blocked for two weeks as a result of which the movement of trains was halted, thousands of tons of freight remained undelivered, and the state incurred losses amounting to millions of rubles.

In order to prevent such phenomena, the Transcaucasian Military District was authorized to provide a certain amount of military hardware that will be used in the future to guard vitally important installations of the national economy such as railroads, bridges, dams, airports, foodstuff supply bases, oil storage tanks, water pipes, TV and communications, and so forth.

Defense Minister Comments

LD1802195792 Moscow Teleradiokompaniya Ostankino Television First Program Network in Russian 1500 GMT 18 Feb 92

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] Our agency and other media outlets have reported that the Transcaucasus Military District has placed some of its combat equipment at the disposal of the Georgian National Guard. Today, especially for our program, a high-ranking military official from Tbilisi comments on this report.

[L. Sharashenidze, acting Georgian minister of defense] In Georgia, the functioning of many life-supporting facilities has been disrupted—both of the population and of the troops of the Transcaucasus and border military districts.

It is well known that for over two weeks the Sukhumi rail junction and the Sukhumi airport have been blockaded. Not only Georgia, but Armenia, too, has not received many goods. Bridges have been blown up, and so on and so forth. Blockades and attacks have also been mounted against television relay towers, and so, in this connection, in order to guard these facilities, we requested equipment from the main command of the Commonwealth of Independent States, which we are currently using with the aim of ensuring these communications and the work of these facilities. When order has been restored, this equipment will be returned.

Second, it is not clear why the mass media of Russia—I have in mind some television programs—are carrying disinformation. Recently they broadcast a report that groups of volunteers from Russia, workers' detachments, former Afghanistan soldiers, all but the Black Hundreds, had been dispatched to the Rokskiy tunnel, the pass, with the task of defending the southern borders of Russia. This is an absurdity. Why introduce destabilization, especially at a time of existing unrest and tension? I ask the leaders of the mass media of Russia to give this their attention.

[Announcer] The ITAR-TASS agency today reported that the first detachment of volunteers of the Russian National Legion arrived in South Ossetia. It is made up reserve officers, former Afghanistan soldiers, and workers from industrial enterprises of Russian cities. They do not intend to take part in armed operations. Their task, as the ITAR-TASS report says, is to guard the southern borders of Russia.

The Georgian side has reacted negatively to this action, assessing it as interference in the domestic affairs of the republic.

Guardsmen Fired On While Leaving Abkhazia

OW1702180592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The troops of the Georgian national guard left Abkhazia, an autonomous republic in Georgia, on Monday [17 February] night.

One of the vehicles was fired on during the withdrawal from Gulripsh district, reports IF [INTERFAX]. It took fire and exploded. No one was injured.

The guards and Mkhedrioni (Horsemen), a paramilitary organization, entered Abkhazia two weeks ago, February 4, to prevent provocations by supporters of Georgia's ex-President Zviad Gamsakhurdia. His supporters had blockaded the railroad and airport.

Supplies Reach Villages, Situation Stabilizes

AU1802111592 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0500 GMT 18 Feb

[Text] Yesterday 10 tons of flour, eight tonnes of fuel, wheat, matches, cigarettes, and other products were delivered to Georgian villages in Samachablo [South Ossetia] from Gori. As [name indistinct], the chairman of Gori's local council of administration, informed our correspondent, these goods [words indistinct]

Colonel Vladimir (?Korchagin), the new commander of the internal troops located in Samachablo, is guaranteeing the safe distribution of the goods. He has promised the authorities in Gori rayon that all measures will be taken to stabilize the situation in this area. Indeed, the situation in Samachablo has recently started to stabilize. There have been no victims of late but, to all intents and purposes, all the Georgian villages are still cut off from the rest of Georgia.

Yesterday evening, Ossetian extremists, with the aim of provocation, again fired at Georgian villages.

Amnesty International Group Arrives in Tbilisi

OW1702214592 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1914 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] INTERFAX learned today that experts from the "Amnesty International" organization Ian Gorvin and Nikola Dakword arrived in Tbilisi. The purpose of their visit is to study the situation of human rights in Georgia.

The Republic's leaders gave them a list of 21 prisoners—supporters of Gamsakhurdia. The experts met with some of them.

Official Claims Nuclear Missiles Present

OW1702164692 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1617 GMT 17 Feb 92

[Transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Chechen Republic's Information and Press Minister Movladiy Udugov told the press in Groznyy that the Chechen leadership had information that CIS [Commonwealth of Independent States] forces stationed in Georgia had missiles with nuclear warheads.

He expressed apprehension that the weapons may fall into rogue hands, including "irresponsible persons or bandits since the situation in Georgia is not under control, said Udugov." [quotation marks as received]

'Cardinal Reform' of Local Government Planned

AU1902160992 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 15 Feb 92 p 1

[Statement issued by the Republic of Georgia Provisional Government in Tbilisi; date not given]

[Text] **The process of the democratization of public life that began in January 1992 calls for the strengthening of democratic structures at all levels of government. With this aim in mind, great importance is attached to the introduction of local self-government that must ensure maximum consideration for the interests of the local population.**

The Republic of Georgia Military Council, in its resolution of 10 January, determined the rules for the formation of temporary organs of local government. In accordance with this resolution, the activities of the sakrebulos [assemblies—local organs of government] were restored at all levels, the anti-democratic institution of the prefecture was abolished, and the prerogative of electing executive organs in rayons and in towns under republican jurisdiction was transferred to the corresponding administrative units, the sakrebulos, while, in those places where this possibility did not exist, this prerogative was transferred to the assembly [kreba] of representatives of the public of rayons and towns with the participation of political parties. In this way, the republic's provisional government rejected the iniquitous practice of electing rayon and town representatives from above, a practice that aroused justified dissatisfaction on the part of the population toward the regime that was overthrown.

The practice of forming the leading organs of local government according to these rules has shown us that the population, by and large, has welcomed the election locally of rayon and town leaders. At the same time, in certain rayons, specific complaints are being heard against this or that individual, and rival groups are appearing that are trying to prove the superiority of one candidate or another over the republic's leaders.

The Republic of Georgia Provisional Government declares that the leading organs of local government that have now been formed are a temporary structure whose task is to create stability in local areas and establish civic peace; with the aim of taking full account of the interests of the population, conducting in a just way agrarian reform and the process of privatization, and tranferring government to democratic forms, the cardinal reform of the system of local government will begin between March and May, one fundamental aspect of which will be the election of the leaders of administrative units when the population will directly elect village, settlement [daba], and town leaders.

To implement this reform, a government commission on local administration will be created, made up of the representatives of political parties and public life and specialists. The commission will prepare a draft on local government reform, elaborate the rules for the election of local government executive organs, and ensure that these elections are held in an organized manner and on time.

The Republic of Georgia Provisional Government calls upon the organs of power now functioning in local areas to refrain from introducing radical changes as far as cadres are concerned so that the situation may remain stable prior to the elections.

The Republic of Georgia Provisional Government expresses the hope that the reform of local government will be a most important factor in the democratization of the country, the decentralization of power, and the stabilization of the political and economic situation in the country and will serve as the most important guarantee for the holding of parliamentary elections in a truly democratic atmosphere.

[Issued by] The Republic of Georgia Provisional Government